ALAGAPPA UNIVERSITY

[ACCREDITED WITH 'A+' Grade by NAAC (CGPA:3.64) in the Third Cycle
and Graded as Category-I University by MHRDUGC]
(A State University Established by the Government of Tamilnadu)

KARAIKUDI – 630 003

DIRECTORATE OF DISTANCE EDUCATION

M.A HISTORY

IV SEMESTER

32141-Contemporary India Since 1947 A.D

INTRODUCTION

India's independence represented for its people the start of an epoch that was imbued with a new vision. In 1947, the country commenced its long march to overcome the colonial legacy of economic underdevelopment, gross poverty, near-total illiteracy, wide prevalence of diseases, and stark social inequality and injustice. Achieving independence was only the first stop, the first break—the end of colonial political control: centuries of backwardness was now to be overcome, the promises of the freedom struggle to be fulfilled, and people's hopes to be met.

The task of nation-building was taken up by the people and leaders with a certain elan and determination and with confidence in their capacity to succeed.

When Nehru assumed office as the first Prime Minister of India, there were a myriad of issues lying in front of him, vying for his attention. Nehru knew that it was highly important that he prioritized things. For him, "First things must come first and the first thing is the security and stability of India." In the words of eminent political scientist W.H Morris-Jones, the imminent task was to "hold things together, to ensure survival, to get accustomed to the feel of being in the water, to see to it that the vessels keep afloat".

Nehru's "first things" included the territorial and administrative integration of the princely states in India, handling the consequences of the partition, restoration of law and order and political stability, and putting in place an administrative system. Nehru sought the help of political ideology to handle these issues.

There were still other issues that warranted equal attention, though not immediately. He had to help the country come out of 200-year-old legacy of the British colonial rule. He had to ensure that the problems of poverty, illiteracy and inequality among the people are properly addressed. He had to raise his people from economic backwardness. Regionalism and tribal issues are other significant issues. Besides paying attention to these domestic issues, India had to build strong relationship with the international community and, to do this, had to design an effective independent foreign policy. However, these issues cannot be made perfect overnight.

In his seventeen years of governing India, Nehru did his best to balance all these priorities. The successive Prime Ministers – especially Indira Gandhi, Morarji Desai, Vajpayee, Manmohan Singh, and Narendra Modi – took Nehru's efforts forward in their own ways. During their tenures, many historic steps have been taken that not only strengthened the country internally, but placed India as a formidable force to reckon with. In this milieu, this book covers the history of India since Nehru's era covering the major events under various disciplines until the period of Narendra Modi's first period of being the prime minister.

This book is divided into fourteen units. Introduction and Objectives provided at the beginning of the chapters introduce the reader to the text and provide an overview of important concepts and topics. 'Check Your Progress' questions are interspersed within the chapter for ensuring that the concepts have been understood well. Each unit ends with a Summary, followed by a list of Key Words and Answers to 'Check Your Progress' Questions. Self-Assessment Questions and Exercises encourage the recollection of information as well as the application of concepts. Further Reading lists the names of other books that can be referred to, for similar topics.

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BLOCK I: PARTITION AND SARDAR PATEL

UNIT-1-PARTITION AND ITS IMPACT

Structure

1.0. INTRODUCTION

This unit discusses two aspects of independent India. First, it analyses the history of partition and its impact particularly due to communal holocaust that took place in 1947: why and how it happened at the time of India's Independence. Second, it explains another important challenge in the integration of princely states into the Indian Union, particularly the role of Patel in the integration of princely states. The joy of independence from the colonial rule was tarnished by the violence and brutality arising from the partition. The partition of British India into the sovereign states of India and Pakistan led to sudden developments. Thousands of lives were snuffed out, and many things changed dramatically: cities changed and the independent India changed too. As a result, a new country was born, and there was unprecedented genocidal violence and migration.

British India was divided into the British Indian Provinces and the princely States. On the one hand, the British Indian Provinces were directly under the control of the British Government. On the other, several large and small states ruled by princes, which were called the princely states, who enjoyed some form of control over their internal affairs as long as they accepted the British supremacy, which was called paramountcy or suzerainty of the British crown. Princely states covered one-third of the land area of the

British Indian Empire, and one out of four Indians lived under princely rule. Just before independence, it was announced by the British that with the end of their rule over India, paramountcy of the British crown over princely states would also lapse. This meant that all these states, as many as 565 in all, would become legally independent. The British government took the view that all these states were free to join either India or Pakistan or remain independent if they so wished. This decision was left not to the people but to the princely rulers of these states. This was a very serious problem and could threaten the very existence of a post-independent India. On the basis of this background, this chapter examines how princely states integrated into Indian Union, and also it highlights the steps taken by Patel to complete this formidable task.

1.1. OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you will be able to:

- Analyse the communal holocaust at the time of India's Independence.
- Understand how the princely states were integrated into the Indian Union.
- Discuss the role of Sardar Patel in integrating India.

1.2. PARTITION

The Partition Plan was officially declared by Lord Mountbatten in June 1947. Armed Forces Reconstruction Committee was formed to divide the security force into Army, Navy and Air Force and to establish in each of the Dominions-India and Pakistan a separate command and control with Field Marshall Auchinleck as Supreme Commander. Partition Council under Mountbatten, Arbitral Committee under Patrick Spens, Steering Committee consisting of one Indian official and one Pakistani official, and 10 expert committees were constituted to divide all assets between the two countries. Boundary Commission with Radcliff as Chairman was set up on June 1947 to demarcate the boundaries of divided Punjab and Bengal. The Radcliff Report was submitted on August 1947. 'Radcliff drew the boundary line as surely as a surgeon's scalpel severs the bone and muscle of a limb in an amputation'.

1.2.1. Indian Independence Act

The Indian Independence Bill was introduced on 4 July 1947 in the British House of Commons and passed on 18 July. The act came into effect on the same date. Punjab was divided into West and East Punjab and Bengal into East and West Bengal. The independent dominions of India and Pakistan were each to be under a governor general appointed by the British king. The king ceased to be the emperor of India and his suzerainty over the princely states lapsed. The constituent assembly of each dominion became a legislature with full powers. Until the framing of a new constitution, the GOI Act 1935 was in force with necessary modifications.

1.3. IMPACT OF PARTITION

The joy and jubilation of independence was marred by the sorrow and sufferings of partition of the country. Neither Mountbatten nor Nehru or Patel ever anticipated such mob hysteria, mass murders and mass migration. Partition and the violence which accompanied it led to nearly six million refugees pouring into India having lost everything. India was in the midst of a communal holocaust. There was senseless communal slaughter and a fratricidal war of unprecedented proportions. Unspeakable atrocities were perpetrated on the minorities in both India and Pakistan. In the span of a few months, nearly 500,000 people were killed and property worth thousands of millions of rupees was looted and destroyed. Communal violence threatened the very fabric of society.

Communal carnage was compounded by mass migration. Millions of men, women and children migrated from India to Pakistan and vice versa. People driven by fear, insecurity and uncertainty started moving from both sides of the border in Punjab. Ten and a half million people were uprooted within three months after independence. Such a mass migration on such a scale and intensity had never been recorded in the history of the world. Marching columns of refugees started pouring into Punjab, Bengal and capital Delhi. It was a migration of no return. In particular, the communal carnage in Delhi had rendered thousands of people homeless. To meet this challenge, a meeting between Mountbatten, Nehru and Patel was held on 6 September 1947, in which it was decided to set up an Emergency Committee of the cabinet to deal with the situation. The Committee commenced its work with lightning speed. The first major responsibility of the first prime minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, was to contain the communal violence and to arrange for refugee rehabilitation. The Army was pressed into service. The Air Force was instructed to do dawn-to-dusk reconnaissance flights over India's half of the Punjab province. Arrangements were made for emergency medical supplies. Trains carrying refugees were fully protected. Transport was arranged to collect and bum the corpses that littered the streets. A series of searches of clandestine arms were carried out. Violence was contained, and law and order restored in record time.

This was not going to be easy. India was born in very difficult circumstances. Perhaps no other country by then was born in a situation more difficult than that of India in 1947. The country was partitioned just before independence. The year 1947 was a year of unprecedented violence and trauma of displacement. It was in this situation that independent India started on its journey to achieve several objectives. Yet, the turmoil that accompanied independence did not make our leaders lose sight of the multiple challenges that faced the new nation.

Check Your Progress

1. In which year did communal holocaust break out in India?
2. Who was the governor general of India at the time of partition?
3. What were the states severely affected by the communal holocaust?
4. When was the Indian Independence Bill passed by the British Parliament?

1.4. INTEGRATION OF INDIAN PRINCELY STATES

The Indian Independence Act 1947 contains the following provision regarding Indian states: 'All treaties, agreements etc. between His Majesty's Government and the rulers of Indian states shall lapse. The words "Emperor of India" shall be omitted from Royal Style and Titles. The Indian states will be free to accede to either of the new Dominion of India or Pakistan.' In the provisional government, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel headed the States Department. Patel and his chief aide V. P. Menon appealed to the sense of patriotism of Indian princes and urged them to join the Indian Union on the basis of the surrender of three subjects of defence, foreign affairs and communication.

In June 1947, a separate State Department was created in New Delhi, under Sardar Vallabhai Patel with V.P. Menon as Secretary, with a view to get the consent of the princes to the Act of Accession and to clinch a deal with Patel 'to allow the Princes to retain their titles, palaces, privy purses, immunity from arrest, right to British decorations and quasi-diplomatic status'.

From invoking the patriotism of the princes to reminding them of the possibility of anarchy if they refuse to join, Patel kept trying to convince them to join India. He also introduced the concept of 'privy purses' – a payment to be made to royal families for their agreement to merge with India. Bikaner, Baroda and few other states from Rajasthan were the first ones to join the union. There were several other states that were adamant not to join India. Some of them thought this to be the best moment to acquire independent statehood, while some others wanted to become a part of Pakistan.

1.4.1. Travancore

The southern Indian maritime state was strategically placed for maritime trade and was rich in both human and mineral resources. It was one of the first princely states to refuse accession to the Indian union and question the Congress' leadership of the nation. By 1946, the Dewan of Travancore, Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Aiyar declared his intention of forming an independent state of Travancore that would be open to the idea of signing a treaty with the Indian union. He was also said to have had secret ties with the UK government who were in support of an independent Travancore in the hope that they would get exclusive access to a mineral called monazite that the area was rich in, and would give an edge to Britain in the nuclear arms race. He stuck to his position till as late as July 1947. He changed his mind soon after he survived an assassination attempt by a member of the Kerala Socialist Party. On 30 July 1947, Travancore joined India.

1.4.2. Jodhpur

The Rajput princely state, despite having a Hindu king and a large Hindu population, strangely had a tilt towards Pakistan. Young and inexperienced, Jodhpur prince Hanvant Singh reckoned that he may get a better 'deal' from Pakistan since his state was contiguous with Pakistan. Jinnah was reported to have given the Maharaja a signed blank sheet of paper to list all his demands. He also offered him free access to the Karachi port to arms manufacturing and

importing along with military and agrarian support. Seeing the risks in the border state acceding to Pakistan, Patel immediately contacted the prince and offered him sufficient benefits. Patel assured him that importing arms would be allowed, that Jodhpur would be connected to Kathiawar by rail and that India would supply grains to it during famines. On 11 August 1947, Maharaja Hanvant Singh signed the Instrument of Accession and the state of Jodhpur was integrated into the Indian dominion.

1.4.3. Bhopal

Bhopal was another state that wished to declare independence. Here a Muslim Nawab, Hamidullah Khan, was ruling over a majority Hindu population. He was a close friend of the Muslim League and staunchly opposed the Congress rule. He had made clear his decision to attain independence to Mountbatten. However, the latter wrote back to him stating that ‘no ruler could run away from the dominion closest to him’. By July 1947, the prince became aware of the large number of princes who had acceded to India and decided to join India.

1.4.4. Kashmir

Three-fourths of Kashmir’s population was Muslims. The state was strategically located at a vital crossroads where India, Pakistan, China and Afghanistan were destined to meet. Kashmir was ruled by Maharaja Hari Singh, the last successor of Gulab Singh of Dogra dynasty.

When the British Paramountcy lapsed, Maharaja Hari Singh was toying with the idea of maintaining the independence of Kashmir. Hence he rejected the Instrument of Accession forwarded to him by India and Pakistan. However, three days before Partition, the Maharaja proposed a stand-still agreement with India and Pakistan. Pakistan readily accepted the offer, but India did not commit herself for such a deal.

Pakistan accepted agreement with the hope of annexing Kashmir with Pakistan. Since the Maharaja was reluctant to oblige to Pakistan, it exercised economic pressure on Kashmir. Then Pakistan engineered 'a tribal invasion' of Kashmir, on 15 October 1947. By 22 October, the 'raiders' mounted an attack on Kashmir. The tribal operation was carefully planned and meticulously executed. They were on their way to Srinagar, the Venice of the Orient (24 Oct).

Driven to the wall, as it were, Maharaja Hari Singh appealed to India for military help. But the Nehru Government refused to comply with his request unless a decision on Kashmir's accession to India was firmly made. On 26 October 1947 the Maharaja formally acceded Kashmir to India, and agreed to install Sheik Abdulla as head of the state. Jammu and Kashmir became an integral part of India.

The Pathan tribal invasion prepared the ground for the first Indo-Pak War. On 27 October 1947, a day after Kashmir's accession to India, Indian troops were flown to Kashmir. The army saved Kashmir from the Pathan invaders. The timely Indian intervention prevented the Pakistan plan of

capturing Srinagar so that Jinnah could make a triumphal entry into the city.' The raiders were driven out of the Kashmir Valley, mostly if not fully.

On 1 January 1948, Nehru took the issue before the U.N. Security Council. In August 1948, the U.N. Commission for India and Pakistan (UNCIP) proposed the withdrawal of troops including Pakistan's retreat from Gilgit. The United States continued to support Pakistan withdrawal from Kashmir. Mountbatten was eager to settle the Kashmir dispute before he relinquished the governor-generalship in June 1948. India accepted in December 1948 a ceasefire on UNCIP terms. Pakistan had secured an arc of mountains round the Kashmir Valley, known as the 'Northern Areas' plus the western end of the valley, known as 'Azad (free) Kashmir' or Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK). India held the rest of Jammu and Kashmir. The ceasefire line remained the line at which firing was supposed to have stopped. In effect, it partitioned the state. The U.N. Corps, the longest serving peace-keeping force, remained there to observe and monitor violations, if any. This had left a legacy of insolvable legal wrangling.

1.4.5. Junagadh

Junagadh is located in Kathiawar peninsula on the coast of Sourashtra near Bombay. This small state had 620,000 impoverished subjects. A Muslim nawab was the head of this Hindu majority state. His state shared a common border with Pakistan. The nawab loved his dogs more than his subjects. Fearing that his pets would be poisoned if he joined India, the Nawab declared the accession of his state to Pakistan. The people of Junagadh opposed the Nawab's decision, rose in rebellion against him and staged satyagraha. Finding his position precarious, the Nawab filled a plane with his wives and pets and fled to Karachi, Pakistan. Shah Nawaz Bhutto, the Diwan of Junagath invited the Government of India to intervene. Patel persisted in sending Indian troops into the trouble-torn Junagath; the Indian armed forces marched into the state and restored law and order. Subsequently, a plebiscite was held in Junagadh in February 1948, which gave a clear verdict in favour of the state acceding to India. 'Junagadh's accession to Pakistan in accordance with the wishes of the Nawab was nullified by the self-assertion of his subjects.'

1.4.6. Hyderabad

At the time of independence, the Nizam of Hyderabad was the head of the largest and the most populous state in India, with 20 million Hindu and 3 million Muslims. The Hindu majority state was surrounded by the Indian territory on all sides. The Nizam of Hyderabad, like the Nawab of Junagadh and the Maharaja of Kashmir, had not acceded to either India or Pakistan before 15 August 1947.

The Nizam indulged in intrigues and manoeuvres to keep Hyderabad outside of India as a 'Third Dominion'. But a vast majority of his subjects wanted the state to accede to India. The Hyderabad State Congress launched the Join India Movement in May 1947. Jayaprakash Narayan visited Hyderabad and extended his moral support to the movement. The moderate section of the Congress Party observed Join India Day on 7 August 1947.

Swami Ramanantha Tirtha hoisted the national flag, personally given to him by Nehru, on 15 August 1947, at the cross roads of Sultan Bazaar. The militant younger members of the Congress carried on the struggle on the model of Quit India Movement of 1942.

1.4.7. The Razakars

The Ittahadul Muslimeen, started in 1927, was converted by the Muslim fanatic Kasim Razvi into a militant and extremist Muslim movement in 1946. Thousands of Muslims enrolled themselves as Razakars and were determined to maintain the supremacy of the Muslim power in the Deccan. The Nizam and the higher officials supported the Razakars to further their political ambitions. The Nizam on 27 August 1947 issued a 'Firman' stating that he had assumed the status of an independent sovereign. On 31 October, he threatened to accede to Pakistan if the negotiations with Delhi failed.

1.4.8. Standstill Agreement

Persuaded by Mountbatten, the Government of India signed a stand-still agreement with the Nizam on 29 November 1947 with an understanding that within that period the problems of accession would be satisfactorily solved. But with the help of Sir Walter Monckton, a British legal luminary and a friend of Mountbatten, the Nizam prolonged the negotiations with India with an obvious intention of asserting his sovereignty.

1.4.9. Violation of Agreement

The Nizam showed scant respect to the stand-still agreement. He recklessly violated the agreement with impunity. He announced that the Indian currency ceased to be legal tender in his state. He appointed trade agents at London and Karachi. The Finance Minister of Pakistan, Gulam Mohammad, visited Hyderabad and arranged for a hefty loan for the Nizam. Sydney Cotton of Australia was engaged to procure arms and ammunition from different parts of the world and smuggled them into Hyderabad. K.M. Munshi, the Agent-General, appointed under the terms of the Stand-still Agreement, was not allowed to occupy the residency building.

1.4.10.'Police Action'

In June 1948, Mountbatten, before laying down office as governor-general, made an attempt to persuade the Nizam to accede to India but failed. Patel was impatient with the inordinate delay and was for firm, swift and decisive action. Government of India's intention of solving the Hyderabad problem through peaceful means was taken by the Nizam as weakness. Situation in Hyderabad was deteriorating from bad to worse.

1.4.11.'Operation Polo'

On 7 September 1948, Nehru announced that a contingent of the Indian army would be sent to re-station itself in the old Indian cantonment in Hyderabad. On 13 September, India launched what was called 'Police Action' on Hyderabad. The Indian Army, under the command of J.N. Choudhary, entered the Hyderabad state from five directions. On 17 September, Nizam's forces surrendered. The next day the Indian army entered the Hyderabad city. The entire action was completed in five days. In the army headquarters the military action was code-named as 'Operation Polo'.

Kasim Razvi was arrested. J.N. Choudhary was made the military governor of Hyderabad. The Hyderabad state was formally acceded to India. In January 1950, M.A. Vellodi, a senior civil servant was made chief minister and the Nizam was designated as Raj Pramukh. After the general election of 1952, the first popular ministry headed by B. Ramakrishna Rao took charge of the state. 'The Hyderabad episode marked another triumph of Indian secularism.' The impact of the action in Hyderabad on the rest of India was healthy. The problem of the states was finally settled and the central government was recognized as paramount all over India.

Check Your Progress

5. Who was responsible for the integration of princely states into India?
6. Who was the ruler of Kashmir when it acceded with India?
7. When was the plebiscite conducted in Junagadh?
8. Operation Polo was carried out against which princely state?

1.5. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The Communal Holocaust broke out in India in 1947.
2. Lord Mountbatten was the governor general of India at the time of partition.
3. Punjab, Bengal and Delhi were severely affected by the communal holocaust.
4. The Indian Independence Bill was passed by the British Parliament on 18 July 1947.
5. Sardar Patel responsible for the integration of the Indian princely states.
6. Maharaja Hari Singh was the ruler of Kashmir when it acceded with India.
7. February 1948.
8. Hyderabad.

1.6. SUMMARY

- Mountbatten Plan was declared on 3 June 1947 and focused partition and Indian Independence.
- The Indian Independence Act was passed by the British parliament on 18 July 1947.
- Bengal and Punjab were divided into two as west and east.

- A Boundary Commission with Radcliff as chairman was set up in June 1947 to demarcate the boundaries of the divided Punjab and Bengal.
- At the time of independence, partition and the violence which accompanied it led to nearly six million refugees pouring into India having lost everything.
- Minorities in both India and Pakistan were victims of the communal holocaust.
- Around 500,000 people were killed and lost their properties also.
- Punjab, Bengal and Delhi became major centres of communal violence.
- Communal carnage was led by mass migration. Millions of people migrated from India to Pakistan and vice versa.
- Nehru took steps to contain communal violence and restored law and order.
- At the time of independence, there were more than 560 princely states.
- The British Paramountcy allowed the princes to join with either India or Pakistan or declared their independence.
- Sardar Patel took charge of integration of Indian states.
- He adopted the strategy of persuasion-cum-pressure to annex the princely states into the Indian Union.
- At the time of independence, most of the princely states acceded with India except for Kashmir, Junagadh and Hyderabad.
- Kashmir’s Raja Hari Singh signed the accession pact in October 1947 when Pakistan supported the Kashmir invasion of Pathan tribes.
- A war broke out between India and Pakistan due to Kashmir (1947–1948).
- Junagadh Nawab fled to Pakistan. People were in favour of accession with India and hence Junagadh merged with India.
- Hyderabad Nizam declared his independence. However, he maintained a secret alliance with Pakistan.
- Operation Polo was carried out when Patel’s negotiations with the Nizam failed. Finally, Hyderabad acceded with India.

1.7. KEY WORDS

British Paramountcy: Paramount means having supreme authority of jurisdiction. The British paramountcy in India obviously connotes that the British had established power in India exercising supreme authority or jurisdiction over the Indian native states.
Mountbatten plan: Mountbatten declared his plan in 1947 with regard to partition and independence. The plan recommended that East Bengal, West Punjab, the Sindh province, Pakistan deserts, Sylhet (Assam) and NWFP be Pakistan. The remaining territories would be called India.
Indian Independence Act: The Indian Independence Bill was introduced in the British parliament on 4 July 1947. It was passed on 18 July 1947 and provided for the setting up of two independent dominions of India and Pakistan with effect from 15 August 1947.

Communal Holocaust: This refers to religious violence against the minorities. In India, between 1946 and 1948, a large number of people were killed due to communal violence, and tens of thousands of people migrated from India to Pakistan and vice versa to save their lives.
Refugee: A person who has been forced to leave their country in order to escape war, persecution, or natural disaster. At the time of India's independence, millions were rendered homeless and sought asylum in refugee camps.
Migration: Migration is the process of moving from one place to another for the betterment of one's life. In 1947, millions of people migrated from India to Pakistan and vice versa.
Pathan Tribes: The Pashtun tribes, or Afghan tribes, are the tribes of the Pashtun people, a large Eastern Iranian ethnic group who use the Pashto language and follow Pashtunwali code of conduct. They are found primarily in Afghanistan and Pakistan. With the help of the Pakistani army, they invaded Kashmir in October 1947.
Operation Polo: Operation Polo was the code name of the Hyderabad 'police action' in September 1948, by the then newly independent India against the Hyderabad state. It was a military operation in which the Indian Armed Forces invaded the Nizam-ruled princely state, annexing it into the Indian Union.
The Chamber of Princes: The Chamber of Princes was an institution established in 1920 by a royal proclamation of Emperor George V to provide a forum in which the rulers of the princely states of India could voice their needs and aspirations to the colonial government of British India.
Nizam: Derived from an Arabic word meaning order or a system, often by way of Persian. In India, this title was dedicated to the head of a state, for example Hyderabad state was ruled by the Hyderabad Nizam.
Nawab: In India, Nawab means viceroy or governor. Nawabs got autonomy from Mughals.

1.8. SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. Write a note on Mountbatten plan.
2. Discuss the Indian Independence Bill.
3. Write a short note on Operation Polo.
4. Discuss the plebiscite conducted in Junagadh.

Long Answer Questions

1. Write an essay on the communal holocaust of 1947 in India.
2. Critically analyse the role of Sardar Vallabhai Patel in the integration of Indian states.
3. How did the Kashmir issue lead to Indo-Pak war of 1947–1948?

1.9. FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT- 2-MAKING OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

Structure

2.0. INTRODUCTION

The Constitution of India was finalized by the Constituent Assembly on November 26, 1949 and came into force on January 26, 1950. The Indian Constitution is a long and elaborate document. It originally contained 395 Articles arranged in 22 parts and 8 schedules; the number of schedules has grown to 12. Since then additions have been made through numerous amendments and some provisions have been repealed. The present constitution was documented only constituent assembly. However, its beginning dates back to the 1861 Council Act. This Act provided parliamentary institutions in India; the subsequent Act pawed the way for the development of Indian legislature and other systems of government.

The Indian constitution has several significant features such as secularism, fundamental rights, parliamentary form of government, judicial review, and adult suffrage. This chapter will analyse the historical background and the salient features of the present constitution.

2.1. OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you will be able to understand the following:

- The historical background of the Constitution.
- The role of constituent assembly in the making of the constitution.
- The salient features of the constitution.

2.2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF THE CONSTITUTION

2.2.1. (A) The Indian Council Act, 1861

The Act of 1858 exclusively introduced changes in the Home Government. As far as India was concerned, it did not touch the administrative setup in India. There was a strong feeling that sweeping changes in the constitution of India were called for after the great crisis of 1857–58, especially in the direction of establishing closer contacts with Indian public opinion. It was in the nature of things ill-fitted to do its job on account of its ignorance of the conditions prevailing in different parts of the vast country. Nor had the Council the will or the time to seek out certain common legislative standards applicable to all

parts of the country. Hence, the British parliament decided to pass the first Council Act 1861.

2.2.1.1. Salient Features of the Indian Council Act, 1861

(1) This Act introduced the portfolio system in India; it was first used by Lord Canning.
(2) For purposes of legislation, the Viceroy's Executive Council was expanded by the addition of not less than 6 and not more than 12 'additional' members, who would be nominated by the Governor-General and would hold office for two years.
(3) The Act restored the legislative powers of making and amending laws to the provinces of Madras and Bombay.
(4) The Governor-General had the power to impose emergency for 6 months.
(5) Viceroy's Executive Council increased one member (the 5th member) who came from the legal profession.

2.2.2.(B) The Indian Council Act, 1892

2.2.2.1. Background of the Act

The growth of the Indian Constitution after the Act of 1861 is largely the story of political disaffection and agitation alternating with Council reform. The reforms grudgingly conceded were always found inadequate, occasioned disaffection and evoked demand for further reforms. It is true of all subsequent Acts passed by the British Parliament relating to India, namely the Acts of 1892, 1909, 1919, and 1935. In each case, the story is in its broad outline practically the same.

2.2.2.2. Provisions of the Act

(1) The Act dealt exclusively with the powers, functions, and composition the Legislative Councils in India. With regard to the Central Legislature, the Act provided that the number of 'additional' members must not be less than 10 or more than 16. The Act also provided that two-fifths of the total members of the Council were to be non-officials. These non-officials were partly nominated and partly elected.
(2) This Act provided, in principle election, was introduced.
(3) For the first time, members were allowed to ask questions on matters of public interest after giving a six days' notice.
(4) This Act clearly mentions that additional members for Provincial Legislatures to be not less than 8 or more than 20.

2.2.3. (C) The Indian Council Act, 1909 (The Minto-Morley Act)

2.2.3.1. Necessity of the Act

The Indian Councils Act of 1892 failed to meet the legitimate wishes of the Congress and Lokamanya Tilak condemned the weak-kneed policy of the Congress. The continuing economic exploitation by the alien rulers led to the

energetic thesis by patriots like R.C. Dutt, Dadabhai Naoroji, and others contending that the impoverishment of the country was the direct result of a deliberate and systematic policy of the foreign rulers who naturally wished to encourage "Home" manufacture at the expense of the local industry and trade. If the Indian Councils Act of 1892 was passed to take the wind out of the sails of the Congress movement, that of 1909 was taken into hands by the Indian Government to rally to its side, the Moderates in the Indian National Congress and the Muslims in order to buttress the authority of British bureaucracy.

2.2.3.2. Objectives of the Act

(1)The Central Legislature was increased to 69 members, 37 of whom were to be officials while the remaining 32 would be non-officials.
(2)The membership of the Legislative Councils of the different provinces as expanded under the Act of 1909 was as follows: Burma, 16; Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1; Bengal, 52; Madras, Bombay, and United Provinces, 47 each; and Punjab, 25. The Act provided for non-official majorities in the provinces.
(3)The elected members in the Provincial Legislatures were to be returned by different constituencies.
(4)The members were given the right of discussion and asking supplementary questions.
(5)This Act provided a Separate electorate for Muslims.

2.2.4. (D) THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT, 1919 (The Montagu-Chelmsford Act)

2.2.4.1. Background of the Act

The Minto-Morley Reforms were passed not with the intention of establishing a parliamentary system in India but with the opposite intention of buttressing the authority of the British bureaucracy by rallying to its side the Moderates and the Muslims. This view is clear from the speech made by Lord Morley in the House of Lords on February 23, 1909. He observed that "There are, I take it, three classes of people we have to consider in dealing with a scheme of this kind. They are the Extremists who nurse fantastic dreams that someday they will drive us out of India. The second group nourishes no hopes of this sort but hopes for autonomy or self-government of the colonial species and pattern, and then the third section of this classification asks for no more than to be admitted to co-operation in our administration and to find a free and effective voice in expressing the interests and needs of their people. I believe that the effect of the Reforms has been, is being, and will be to draw the second class who hopes for colonial autonomy into the third class who will be content with being admitted to a fair and full co-operation." Actually, the Reforms of 1909 did not satisfy, much less please, any section of the people.

Under the circumstances, the question of further constitutional reforms did not brook delay. A patent proof of the wide awakening of the Indians at this stage was that they themselves formulated various schemes for reforms for the consideration of the Government. In December, 1916 a joint scheme

prepared by the Congress and the Muslim League, the outcome of the Lucknow Pact, was put forward.

2.2.4.2. Main Provisions of the Act

i)The Secretary of State for India who used to be paid out of the Indian revenues was now to be paid by the British Exchequer.
ii)The number of Indians in the Governor-General's Executive Council was increased to eight. The Indian members were entrusted with departments such as Law, Education, Labour, Health, and Industries.
iii)The new scheme of subjects was divided into two: (i) Powers at the Central level and (ii) Powers at the State level. Subjects of national importance such as Foreign Affairs, Defence, Political Relations, Posts and Telegraphs, Public Debt, Communications, Civil and Criminal Law and Procedure, were managed centrally, while others of provincial importance, such as Public Health, Local Self-Government, Education, Medical Administration, Land Revenue Administration, Water Supply, Famine Relief, Law and Order, Agriculture, etc. were managed by the states.
iv)The Act set up a bicameral legislature at the Centre.
v)The two Houses now were to be the Council of State and the Central Legislative Assembly.
vi)The Council of State which was to be the Upper House was to consist of 60 members, 26 of whom were to be nominated by the Governor-General and 34 were to be elected, introducing thereby an elected body.
vii)The Legislative Assembly which was to constitute the Lower House would consist of 145 members, 41 of whom 41 to be nominated and 104 elected.
viii)The life of the Assembly was to be 3 years, but it could be extended by the Governor-General.
ix)At the Provincial level, Diarchy was introduced (Di means two and archy means rule; thus, diarchy means dual government).
x)The subjects at the Provincial level were two: (i) reserved subjects under the Governor and his Officials and (ii) transferred subject headed by Governor consisting of elected representatives.
xi)For the first time, election was introduced both at the Central level and for Provinces.
xii)The franchise was extremely restricted. Only those paying an income tax on the minimum income of Rs. 10,000 a year or those paying a minimum land revenue of Rs. 750 a year were entitled to vote.

2.2.5. (E) THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT 1935

2.2.5.1. Background of the Act

The Congress considered the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms to be "inadequate, unsatisfactory, and disappointing", but while urging the Government to speedily establish full responsible government in accordance with the principle of self-determination, it resolved to work them "so far as may be possible" with a view to bringing about at an early date the desired type of government.

2.2.5.2. The Simon Commission, 1927–30

The commission was appointed by the British government to examine the functions of diarchy at the Provincial level.

This commission was entirely of British people no Indian became part of the commission. Hence, Congress rejected commission and opposed wherever commission visited across the country.

The commission reached India in 1928, visited most of the States, and collected information related with diarchy.

In 1930, the commission gave its recommendations particularly about function of diarchy at the Provincial level.

2.2.5.3. The Nehru Report, 1928

While the Simon Commission was carrying on its work in isolation from Indian public opinion, the leading Indian political parties were trying to forge a common political programme. An All-Parties Conference, presided over by Dr. M.A. Ansari, was convened at Bombay on May 19, 1928 and appointed a Committee under Motilal Nehru's Chairmanship to consider and determine the principles of a constitution for India.

2.2.5.3.1. The salient features of the Nehru Report

The Report suggested the Indian Parliament should consist of the following:

(i) The Senate elected for 7 years containing 200 members elected by the Provincial Councils.

(ii) The House of Representatives with 500 members elected for 5 years through adult franchise. The Governor-General was to act on the advice of the Executive Council which was to be collectively responsible to the Parliament.

The Provincial Councils were to be elected, on the basis of adult franchise, for 5 years and the Governor were to act on the advice of the Provincial Executive Council.

2.2.5.4. The Round Table Conference, 1930–32

The first round table conference was conducted from November 16, 1930 to January 19, 1931, the second round table conference was from September 1 to December 1, 1931, and the third round table conference was from November 17 to December 24, 1932. The congress did not participate in the first round table conference because all their leaders were arrested for the participation of Civil-Disobedient movement. However, Gandhi attended second round table conference as the representative of Indian National Congress. Gandhi was very much disappointed after the second round table conference as none of his demands were considered by the British. For the third conference, congress did not participate. Mohammad Ali Jinnah and other leaders participated in all the three conferences and took part in discussions. Based on the Simon commission recommendations, Nehru reports, and outcomes of the three round table conferences, the Government of Act 1935 was passed.

2.2.5.5. The salient features of the Act, 1935

i)Diarchy abolished at the Provincial Level, and it was introduced at the Centre.
ii)Provincial autonomy was introduced.
iii)Federation was proposed at the Centre.
iv)The federation should consist of the British India and Princely States.
v)The federation was in letter not in spirit.

Check Your Progress

1.What you know about the 1st Council Act?
2.How far the second Council Act better than the first Council Act?
3.What is the meaning of "diarchy"?
4.What do you know about the Provincial Autonomy?

2.3. MAKING OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

2.3.1. The Formation of the Constituent Assembly

After the Second World War, the British Government announced its desire to handover the power to the Indians and quit the country. A Cabinet mission comprising of Lord Pethick Lawrence, A.O. Alexander, and Stafford Cripps visited India in April 1946 and held discussions with the Indian Political leaders to reach an agreement on the future of Indian political setup. No agreement could be reached because the Congress wanted a United India while the Muslim League was insisting on the partition of the country. Hence, the British Government announced the 'White Paper' on 16th May, 1946 basing on the recommendations of the Cabinet Mission. According to it, the British Government went already with its decision to form the Constituent Assembly, which was empowered to frame the New Constitution for the United India. But it is provided that any province, if so desired, could secede from India after the new constitution came into force, elections to the Constituent Assembly. The appropriate method to secure accurate representation of the people of India in the Constituent Assembly would be by election based on adult franchise. But to introduce such a step would cause undue delay and unnecessary commotion in the country. Therefore, it was decided that the members of the Constituent Assembly were to be indirectly elected by the members of the Provincial Legislative Assemblies to which fresh elections took place in March 1946. The representatives of the Native States were to be nominated by their respective rulers. Elections were held to the Constituent Assembly in July 1946 on the following basis:
(a) Each province was allotted certain number of seats proportional to its population. One seat was provided to represent one million people.
(b) The number of seats allotted to each province was divided among the main communities in proportion to their population. Only three categories were made, namely the Muslims, the Sikhs, and others (who include Hindus, Christians, and Parsees, etc.).

(c) The representatives allocated to each community in a province were to be elected by members of that community in its Legislative Assembly.
(d) Four seats were allotted to the Chief Commissioners' Provinces of Delhi, Ajmer, Coorg, and Baluchistan. On the whole, 296 members were elected by the British Indian Provinces out of which were 210 General seats, 78 Muslims seats, 4 Sikh seats, and 4 from Chief Commissioners' Provinces. Out of them, the Congress Party captured 202 seats, the Muslim League 73 seats, and the other parties 21 seats. The Native rulers were to nominate 93 members to the Constituent Assembly. The Muslim League members refused to participate in the deliberations of the Assembly because their demand for Pakistan was not accepted. They wanted to form a separate constitution making body after the formation of Pakistan.

2.3.2. Making of the Constitution

The Constituent Assembly met for the first time on 9th December, 1946 in a preliminary session in New Delhi under the Presidentship of Sachchidananda Sinha. Later, Dr. Rajendra Prasad became the permanent President of the Constituent Assembly. After the attainment of Independence on 15th August, 1947, the Constituent Assembly assumed legislative powers also. It functioned as the first Parliament of India after the new constitution came into effect on 26th January, 1950 until the fresh elections were held in 1952 to the new Parliament.

2.3.3. History of the Preamble

Jawaharlal Nehru moved objectives of the Constitution on 13th December, 1946 and it was adopted by Constituent assembly on 22 January, 1947. The drafting committee of the assembly in formulating the Preamble in the light of "Objective Resolution" felt that the Preamble should be restricted to defining the essential features of the new state and its basic socio-political objectives and that the other matters dealt with Resolution could be more appropriately provided for in the substantive parts of the Constitution.
The Constituent Assembly appointed various committees to recommend different aspects of provisions of the Constitution, such as the following:

S. No.	Name of the Committee	Chairman
1	Committee on the Rules of Procedure	Rajendra Prasad
2	Steering Committee	Rajendra Prasad
3	Finance and Staff Committee	Rajendra Prasad
4	Credential Committee	Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar
5	House Committee	B Pattabhi Sitaramayya
6	Order of Business Committee	KM Munshi
7	Ad hoc Committee on the National Flag	Rajendra Prasad
8	Committee on the Functions of the Constituent Assembly	GV Mavalankar
9	States Committee	Jawaharlal Nehru

10	Advisory Committee on Fundamental Rights, Minorities and Tribal and Excluded Areas	Vallabbhai Patel
11	Minorities Subcommittee	HC Mookherjee
12	Fundamental Rights Subcommittee	JB Kripalani
13	North-East Frontier Tribal Areas and Assam, Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas Subcommittee	Gopinath Bardoloi
14	Excluded and Partially Excluded Area (other than those in Assam) Subcommittee	AV Thakur
15	Union Powers Committee	Jawaharlal Nehru
16	Union Constitution Committee	Jawaharlal Nehru
17	Drafting Committee	BR Ambedkar

The Drafting Committee of the constitution consisted of seven members with Dr. B.R. Ambedkar as its Chairman. The other prominent members of the Committee were Sir Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, K.M. Munshi, T.T. Krishnamachari, and N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar. Many Articles of the Constitution of India were borrowed from the Government of India Act of 1935. To a large extent, the Act of 1935 was the basic structure on which the new constitution was framed. Many ideas were incorporated from the Constitution of Britain, Ireland, and U.S.A. The Constituent Assembly held its deliberations under the chairmanship of Dr. Rajendra Prasad and passed the draft constitution on 26th November, 1949. It came into effect on 26th January, 1950.

Check Your Progress

5.How were the members of Constituent Assembly elected?
6.What do you know about the role of Dr. Rajendra Prasad in the Constituent Assembly?
7.When was the present Constitution adopted by the Constituent Assembly?

2.4. SALIENT FEATURES OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

2.4.1. The Preamble of Indian Constitution

"WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC and to secure to all its citizens:
JUSTICE, social, economic, and political;
LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith, and worship;
EQUALITY of status and of opportunity;

and to promote among them all
FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the Nation.
In Our Constituent Assembly, this 26 day of November 1949 do Hereby Adopt, Enact, and Give to ourselves this Constitution".

The Preamble of the constitution declares India to be a 'Sovereign, Socialist, Secular, and Democratic Republic'. Though India is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, she is sovereign both internally and externally. The aim of the Republic is to secure to all its citizens, justice, liberty, equality, and fraternity.

2.4.2. Longest Written Constitution

Indian Constitution is a fully written document which incorporates various laws for proper management of the country. Indian constitution contains separate provisions for states, centre, and their interrelationship. The constituent assembly had borrowed various provisions from several other constitutions of the world which made it very detailed. Moreover, there are separate provisions for scheduled castes, scheduled tribes, other backward classes, children, and women.

2.4.3. Secular State

A salient feature of the constitution is its emphasis on secularism. The word secularism was incorporated into the Preamble of the Constitution by the 42nd Amendment passed in 1976. People are not discriminated on the basis of religion. All citizens enjoy freedom of worship and possess equal civil and political rights irrespective of their religious beliefs. The State does not have a religion of its own. No religious instruction is provided in any educational institution which is maintained out of state funds.

2.4.4. Fundamental Rights

Part 3rd of the Constitution (12-35) elaborately discuss six fundamental rights. All the rights guaranteed in this chapter should be enforceable by the court of law. The six rights are Equality, Liberty, Right against exploitation, Religious rights, Cultural and Educational rights of Minorities, and Constitutional Remedies.

2.4.4.1. Equality (Articles 14–18)

Articles 14–18 of the Constitution guarantee the right to equality. Article 14 guarantees equality before law and equal protection of laws. Article 15 prohibits discrimination on the grounds of religion, race, caste, or place of birth. Article 16 guarantees equality of opportunity in matters of public employment. Article 17 abolishes untouchability in the country and Article 18 abolishes titles other than military or academic distinctions.

2.4.4.2. Right to Freedom (Articles 19–22)

Articles 19–22 deal with the right to freedom. Article 19 lays down that all citizens shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression, to assemble peacefully and without arms, to form associations or unions, to move freely throughout the territory of India, to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India, and to practice any profession or to carry on any occupation, trade, or business.

Article 20 lays down that no person shall be convicted of any offence except for violation of law in force at the time of the commission of the offence. No person shall be prosecuted and punished more than once. No person accused of an offence shall be compelled to be a witness against himself.

Article 21 provides that no person shall be deprived of his life or personal liberty except according to procedure established by law.

Article 22 provides protection against arrest and detention in certain cases.

2.4.4.3. Right against Exploitation (Articles 23 and 24)

Articles 23 and 24 deal with the right against exploitation. Article 23 prohibits forced labour. Article 23 is designed to protect the individual not only against the State but also against other private citizens. Article 23 embodies two declarations. The first declaration is that the traffic in human beings, beggar, and other similar forms of forced labour is prohibited. The second declaration is that any contravention of the provision shall be an offence punishable according to the law. Nothing in this Article shall prevent the State from imposing compulsory service for public purposes, and in imposing such service, the State shall not make any discrimination on grounds only of religion, race, caste, or class or any of them. Article 24 provides that no child below the age of 14 years shall be employed to work in any factory or mine or engaged in any other hazardous employment.

2.4.4.4.Right to Freedom of Religion (Articles 25–28)

Articles 25, 26, 27, and 28 provide the right to freedom of religion. Article 25 deals with freedom of conscience and free profession, and practice and propagation of religion. Article 26 deals with freedom to manage religious affairs. Article 27 deals with freedom as to payment of taxes for promotion of any particular religion. Article 28 deals with freedom as to attendance at religious instruction or religious worship in certain educational institutions. As a result of the above provisions, India is a secular state.

2.4.4.5. Cultural and Educational Rights (Articles 29 and 30)

Articles 29 and 30 provide cultural and educational rights. Article 29 protects the interests of the minorities regarding their language, script, and culture. Article 30 provides that all minorities whether based on religion or language shall have the right to establish and administer educational institutions of their choice.

2.4.4.6. Right to Constitutional Remedies (Article 32)

Dr. Ambedkar, the architect of Indian Constitution, emphasized the importance of Article 32 and referred it as the very soul of the Indian Constitution and the very heart of it. Article 32 provides the right to move the Supreme Court by appropriate proceedings for the enforcement of the fundamental rights conferred by Part III of the Constitution. It also guarantees that the rights provided by this Article shall not be suspended except as otherwise provided by this Constitution. The Supreme Court shall have the power to issue directions or orders or writs, including writs in the nature of habeas corpus, mandamus, prohibition, quo warranto, and certiorari, whichever may be appropriate, for the enforcement of any of the rights conferred by this part.

2.4.4.6.1. Habeas Corpus

Writ of habeas corpus is in the nature of an order calling upon the person who has detained another to produce the latter before the court, in order to let the court know on what ground he has been confined and to set him free if there is no legal justification for the imprisonment.

2.4.4.6.2. Mandamus

Literally means a command. It demands some activity on the V part of the body or person to whom it is addressed. In short, it commands the person to whom it is addressed to perform some public or quasi-public legal duty, which he has refused to perform and the performance of which cannot be enforced by any other adequate legal remedy.

2.4.4.6.3. Prohibition

The writ of prohibition is a writ issued by the Supreme Court or a High to an inferior court forbidding the latter to continue proceedings therein in excess of its jurisdiction or to usurp a jurisdiction with which it is not legally vested.

2.4.4.6.4. Certiorari

It means quash judgments of inferior court. Briefly speaking, therefore, while prohibition is available at an earlier stage, certiorari is available at a later stage, on similar grounds. The object of both is to secure that the jurisdiction of an inferior court or tribunal is properly exercised and that it does not usurp the jurisdiction, which it does not possess.

2.4.4.6.5. Quo Warranto

Quo warranto is a proceeding whereby the court enquires into the legality of the claim which a party asserts to a public office and to oust him from its enjoyment if the claim be not well-founded.

2.4.5. FUNDAMENTAL DUTIES

The 42nd constitutional Amendment of 1976 added Part IV-A, dealing with 10 Fundamental Duties. They are mere directions given to citizens to follow. They are not enforceable by law courts and noncompliance of the duties does not meet with punishment. The duties are the following:

(1) Respect to the Constitution, National Flag, and National Anthem.
(2) Cherish the noble ideals of the freedom struggle.
(3) Uphold the sovereignty, unity, and integrity of the country.
(4) Defend the country and render national service when called for.
(5) Promote common brotherhood of all people of India and respect the dignity of women.
(6) Preserve the heritage of the country and its composite culture.
(7) Protect the natural environment and develop compassion for living beings.
(8) Develop spirit of scientific enquiry, humanism, and reform.
(9) Safeguard public property and discard violence.
(10) Survive for excellence in individual and collective activities.

2.4.6. DIRECTIVE PRINCIPLES OF STATE POLICY

Articles 36–51 deal with the Directive Principles of State Policy. The Directive Principles of State Policy have been incorporated in the Constitution to supplement 'Fundamental Rights' in achieving a welfare State in India. Part IV of the Indian Constitution deals with the "Directive Principles of State Policy". Right to fair wages and equal remuneration for work (Article 39 (d); the right to protect Childhood and Youth from exploitation (Article 39 f); right to work (Article 41); right to medical care (Articles 41 and 47); right to social security in old age (Article 41); right to secure just and human conditions' of work (Article 42); right to secure maternity relief (Article 42); right to descent standards of life (Article 43); right to leisure and rest (Article 43); and right to raise the level of nutrition and the standards of life (Article 47).

2.4.7. FEDERAL IN NATURE AND UNITY IN DIVERSITY

Another salient feature of the Indian constitution is that it has provided a system of government which is federal in form but unitary in essence and spirit. It has three essential requisites of federation—a written and rigid constitution, distribution of powers between the Centre and the States, and a Supreme Court. The constitution is written and also rigid in the sense that it could be amended only according to the prescribed procedure. The administrative subjects are classified into three categories: the Union List consisting of 97 subjects, the State List comprising of 66 subjects, and the Concurrent List having 47 subjects. A Supreme Court is constituted to serve as the highest court of the country. But unlike the American constitution, the constitution of India provided only one citizenship for all the people. But in essence, the Indian constitution is unitary in character. The Union Government exercises almost unquestioned control over the States in legislative, financial, and administrative spheres. This control becomes tighter in times of emergencies.

2.4.8. PARLIAMENTARY FORM OF GOVERNMENT

The constitution provides a Parliamentary form of Government in the Centre as well as in the States. The President of India and the State Governors are mere constitutional heads. The Cabinet exercises the executive powers and is responsible to the concerned legislature. The Cabinet can be removed from office by a vote of no confidence in the legislature even before its term of office is over.

2.4.9. BICAMERAL LEGISLATURE

Bicameral Legislature was constituted at the Centre as well as in some of the states. The members of the Lower House are directly elected by the people on the basis of the adult franchise. The life of the Lower House is 5 years unless it is dissolved earlier. The members of the Upper House are indirectly elected for a period of 6 years. The Upper House is a permanent body, one-third of its members retiring every 2 years.

2.4.10. RIGID AS WELL AS FLEXIBLE

The Indian Constitution is rigid in some respects and flexible in other respects. The method of amendment is not as hard and difficult as that of the U.S.A. There are three different ways of amending the Indian Constitution. A large number of provisions can be amended by the Union Parliament by a simple majority. Some provisions can be amended, by an Amendment Act passed by two-third majority in both Houses of Parliament and also ratified by more than half of State Legislatures. Some other provisions are amended by a majority of two-thirds of members present in both the Houses of Parliament. No ratification by the State Legislatures is required.

2.4.11. INDEPENDENT JUDICIARY

The constitution made the judiciary independent of the executive. The President of India appoints the judges of the Supreme Court and High Courts after consulting the Chief Justice of India. The judges are free from the executive control. Their tenure is guaranteed and their salaries are fixed by the constitution.

2.4.12. JUDICIAL REVIEW

Another significant feature of the Indian Constitution is the provision for Judicial Review. This meant that the Supreme Court is empowered to declare a law passed by the Parliament as null and void if it is inconsistent with the Fundamental Rights. In the case of the Acts passed by the State Legislatures, this power is vested with the concerned High Courts. Thus, the system of judicial review upholds the supremacy of the constitution as distinct from the supremacy of Parliament.

2.4.13. ADULT FRANCHISE

Adult suffrage is an important feature of the constitution. Till 1946, only the taxpayers and property owners were voters. With the enforcement of the new constitution, all the adults who attained 21 years of age (now 18 years of age) became eligible to exercise their franchise. Thereby, nearly 50% of the population was enrolled as voters.

Check Your Progress

8. What is the aim of the Preamble of the Constitution?
9. Which part of the Constitution deals with Fundamental Rights?
10. What is the significance of Article 21?
11. How are religious rights guaranteed by the Constitution?
12. What are the writs mentioned by the Indian Constitution?

2.5. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1.It was introduced in 1861. It laid the foundation for the parliamentary institution in India and implemented the portfolio system.
2.The size of the legislature was increased. Elections were accepted in principle. The members were allowed to ask questions.
3.Di means two and archy means rule (dual government). It was introduced in Indian Provinces through the 1919 Act.
4.Provincial Autonomy means partial freedom and it should be answerable directly to the British crown, not to the Union Government. It was introduced by the 1935 Act.
5.The members of the Constituent Assembly were to be indirectly elected by the members of the Provincial Legislative Assemblies, to which fresh elections took place in March 1946.
6.He served as the President of the Constituent Assembly. He headed several committees which were appointed by the Constituent Assembly.
7.It was adopted on 26 November 1949.
8.The Preamble of the constitution declares India as a 'Sovereign, Socialist, Secular, Democratic Republic'. Though India is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations, it is sovereign both internally and externally. The aim of the Republic is to secure to all its citizens, justice, liberty, equality, and fraternity.
9.Part III of the Constitution discusses the Fundamental Rights (Articles 12–35).
10.This Article deals with life and liberty. It protects the life of the all the people residing in India.
11.Articles 25–28 guarantee religious rights: Freedom of religion including faith and worship, payment of taxes, and right to participate religious activities.
12.These are habeas corpus, mandamus, prohibition, quo warranto, and certiorari mention by the Indian Constitution.

2.6. SUMMARY

- The present constitution is a well-written constitution.
- It consists of 395 Articles arranged in 22 parts and 12 schedules.
- The evolution of the present constitution dates back to 1861 (the First Council Act).
- This Act introduced the parliamentary system in India.
- Followed by this, the Second Council Act increased the strength of the legislature.
- Minto-Morley Act 1909 provided communal representation.
- The 1919 Act introduced bicameral legislature and diarchy in the provinces.
- The 1935 Act introduced provincial autonomy and federation at the centre.
- The constituent assembly headed by Dr. Rajendra Prasad took responsibility of making of the constitution.
- Dr. B.R. Ambedkar headed the drafting committee and writing of the constitution.
- The present constitution is secular in character.
- Part II of the constitution, Articles 12–35, deals with the six fundamental rights. These rights are equality, liberty, right against exploitation, religious rights, cultural and educational rights of minorities, and Constitution remedies.
- Part IV (36–51) explains the directive principle of state policy.
- Part IV A (51 A) deals with fundamental duties.
- The constitution introduced parliamentary form of government.
- Judicial review is another feature of Indian Constitution.
- The constitution provides adult suffrage.

2.7. KEY WORDS

Portfolio System: separation of various departments, such as external affairs, defence, Home, and Finance. The basic objective of the portfolio system is to introduce decentralization.
Provinces: it is the administrative system within the country. During the British rule, all the States were called Provinces.
Diarchy: Di means two and Archy means rule (dual government). It was introduced in Indian Provinces through the 1919 Act.
Federation: an organization comprised of small states to form a powerful state. It was introduced in India by the 1935 Act.
Constitution: it is a legal document to regulate state and society. It should be in the form of written or unwritten. Indian Constitution is written and the lengthiest constitution.
Secularism: the word secularism means the belief that religion should not be involved with the ordinary social and political activities of a country.
Habeas Corpus: The words 'habeas corpus' literally means 'to have a body', that is, the court orders for the physical presence of the detained person before it.

Lower House: (Lok Sabha) all the members are directly elected by the people. The tenure of the house is 5 years. It could be dissolved before its tenure.

Upper House: (Rajya Sabha) all the members are elected by the state assembly, except for 12 members who are nominated by the President. The house is permanent. The period for a member is 6 years. One-third of the members will resign every 2 years.

2.8. SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1.What were the results of 1861 Council Act?
2.What were the causes for the Minto-Morley Act?
3.Write a note on Nehru Report.
4.Discuss the right to equality.
5.Explain the bicameral legislature.
6.Discuss the judicial review.

Long Answer Questions

1.Critically analyse the salient features of the Montagu-Chelmsford Act.
2.Estimate the 1935 Act.
3.Write an essay on the role of the constituent assembly in making of the constitution.
4.Critically analyse the fundamental rights accorded by the Indian constitution.

2.9. FURTHER READINGS

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Unit – 3- REORGANIZATION OF INDIAN STATES ON LINGUISTIC BASIS

Structure

3.0. INTRODUCTION

The reorganization of the states on the basis of language, a major aspect of national consolidation and integration, came to the fore almost immediately after independence. The boundaries of provinces in pre-1947 India had been drawn in a haphazard manner as the British conquest of India had proceeded for nearly a hundred years. No heed was paid to linguistic or cultural cohesion so that most of the provinces were multilingual and multicultural. The interspersed princely states had added a further element of heterogeneity. The case for linguistic states as administrative units were very strong. Language is closely related to culture and therefore to the customs of people. Besides, the massive spread of education and growth of mass literacy can only occur through the medium of the mother tongue. Democracy can become real to the common people only when politics and administration are conducted through the language they can understand. But this language, the mother tongue, cannot be the medium of education or administration or judicial activity unless a state is formed on the basis of such a predominant language. It is for this reason that, with the involvement of the masses in the national movement after 1919, Congress undertook political mobilization in the mother tongue and in 1921 amended its constitution and reorganized its regional branches on a linguistic basis. Since then, the Congress repeatedly committed itself to the redrawing of the provincial boundaries on linguistic lines. Just five days before he was assassinated, Gandhiji, while urging the people to 'discourage all fissiparous tendencies and feel and behave as Indians', also argued that "the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis was necessary if provincial languages were to grow to their full height." It was therefore more or less universally assumed that free India would base its administrative boundaries

on the linguistic principle. In this background, this chapter will discuss at length how the reorganization of states happened on the basis of language.

3.1. OBJECTIVES

After studying this unit, you will be able to understand the following:

- The historical background of linguistics demands.
- Appointment of various committees in post-independent India to resolve the linguistic issues.
- Role of Andhra state in the formation of linguistic reorganization.
- Linguistic reorganization Act 1956 and the formation of new states.

3.2. Historical Background of the Linguistics Reorganization

The leaders of the freedom struggle rightly identified the incongruous nature of Indian Provinces and demanded reorganization of provinces on linguistic basis. The principle of forming linguistic provinces gained ground. The Indian National Congress accepted this idea as early in the freedom struggle. In 1920, Nagpur session of the Congress formally accepted the linguistic reorganization of provinces. Gandhi, Nehru, and other leaders strongly demanded such reorganization. But the national leadership had second thoughts on the subject immediately after independence. There were various reasons for this. Partition had created serious administrative, economic, and political dislocation, and independence, coming immediately after the War, was accompanied by serious economic and law and order problems. Also there was the vexed Kashmir problem and a war-like situation vis-a-vis Pakistan. The leadership felt that the most important task for the present was to consolidate national unity, and any effort undertaken immediately to redraw the internal boundaries might dislocate administration and economic development, intensify regional and linguistic rivalries, unleash destructive forces, and damage the unity of the country. Speaking on the linguistic question, Nehru clearly stated on 27 November, 1947: 'First thing must come first and the first thing is the security and stability of India". The question of linguistic reorganization of India was, however, raised quite early in the Constituent Assembly, which appointed the Linguistic Provinces Commission, headed by Justice S.K. Dar, a former Judge of Allahabad High Court, to enquire into the desirability of linguistic provinces. The Constituent Assembly, deliberating on the Draft Report, attempted to find out a solution to the problem of linguistic reorganization of India along the following lines: (1) new provinces that should be created on linguistic basis (2) the administrative, economic, financial, and other consequences of the creation of new provinces; and 3) the administrative implications of the formation of new provinces for the adjoining territories.

The Dar Commission toured the country and found that there was a vigorous and vociferous demand for the linguistic redistribution of India. 'And yet, the Commission, in its Report submitted on 10 December 1948, observed that the formation of provinces on exclusively or even mainly linguistic considerations was not in the larger interest of the nation and should not be taken on hand. The Commission came to the conclusion that because the country was facing with such serious problems as communal tension, political uncertainty,

economic stability, foreign aggression, incomplete integration of the princely states, and the enormous economic and administrative cost of new provinces, immediate formation of such states was not desirable. On the basis of the Report of the Dar Commission, the Constituent Assembly decided not to incorporate the linguistic basis of reorganization of states in the Constitution.

The Dar Commission Report provoked an uproar throughout India. The problem of linguistic reorganization of states was aggravated and remained politically volatile. To appease the vocal votaries of linguistic states, the Congress appointed a committee (JVP) in December 1948 consisting of Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Patel, and Pattabhi Sitaramayya, president of the Congress, to examine the question afresh. This committee advised against the creation of linguistic states for the time being, emphasizing on unity, national security, and economic development as the needs of the hour. Yet, the Congress leadership would not oppose any popular demand. In the JVP report, as well as afterwards, the Congress leadership laid down that where the demand for a linguistic state was insistent and overwhelming and where other language groups involved were agreeable to it, a new state could be created. The JVP report was followed by popular movements for states' reorganization all over the country, which persisted with varying degrees of intensity till 1960. The demand for a separate Andhra state for the Telugu people was an example. The demand had been popular for nearly half a century and had the support of all political parties.

The JVP accepted that a strong case for the formation of Andhra out of the Madras Presidency existed, particularly as the leadership of Tamil Nadu was agreeable to it. But it did not concede the demand immediately, because the two sides could not agree on which state should take Madras city. The Andhra leaders were unwilling to concede Madras even though on linguistic as well as geographic grounds it belonged to Tamil Nadu. On 19 October 1952, a popular freedom fighter, Potti Sriramalu, undertook a fast unto death over the demand for a separate Andhra and expired after 58 days. His death was followed by three days of rioting, demonstrations, hartals, and violence all over Andhra. The government immediately gave in and conceded the demand for a separate state of Andhra, which finally came into existence in October 1953.

The success of the Andhra struggle encouraged other linguistic groups to agitate for their own state or for rectification of their boundaries on a linguistic basis. Nehru was not in favour at that time of continuing with the redrawing of India's internal administrative boundaries, but he was too much of a democrat to sternly and consistently oppose the demands. As Nehru's biographer, S. Gopal has put it: 'He felt that it would be undemocratic to smother this sentiment which, on general grounds, he did not find objectionable. Indeed, a linguistic mosaic might well provide a firmer base for national unity. What concerned him were the timing, the agitation, and violence with which linguistic provinces were being demanded and the harsh antagonism between various sections of the Indian people, which underlay these demands.

3.3. The States Reorganization Commission (SRC)

To meet the demand halfway and to delay matters, Nehru appointed in August 1953 the States Reorganisation Commission (SRC), with Justice Fazl Ali, K.M. Panikkar, and Hridaynath Kunzru as members, to examine 'objectively and dispassionately' the entire question of the reorganization of the states of the Union. Throughout the 2 years of its work, the Commission was faced with meetings, demonstrations, agitations, and hunger strikes. Different linguistic groups clashed with each other, verbally as well as sometimes physically. As the Commissioners reported in sorrow: 'It has been most distressing to us to witness a kind of border warfare in certain areas in which old comrades-in-arms in the battle for freedom have pitted against one another in acrimonious controversy. Deliberate attempts to whip up popular frenzy by an appeal to parochial and communal sentiments; threats of large-scale migration; "assertions such as that if a certain language group is not allowed to have an administrative unit of its own, its moral, material, and even physical extinction would follow as an inevitable consequence; all point to an acute lack of perspective and balance:" The SRC submitted its report in October 1955. While laying down that due consideration should be given to administrative and economic factors, it recognized for the most part the linguistic principle and recommended redrawing of state boundaries on that basis. The SRC's recommendations were accepted, though with certain modifications, and were quickly implemented.

3.4. The States Reorganization Act

The States Reorganisation Act was passed by parliament in November 1956. It provided for 14 states and 6 centrally administered territories. The Telangana area of Hyderabad state was transferred to Andhra; Kerala was created by merging the Malabar district of the old Madras Presidency with Travancore, Cochin. Certain Kannada-speaking areas of the states of Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad, and Coorg were added to the Mysore state. Bombay state was enlarged by merging the states of Kutch and Saurashtra and the Marathi-speaking areas of Hyderabad with it.

3.5. States and Union Territories according to 1956 the States Reorganization Act

The states were Andhra Pradesh, Assam, Bihar, Bombay, Jammu and Kashmir, Kerala, Madhya Pradesh, Madras, Mysore, Orissa, Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, and West Bengal. The six union territories were Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands, Manipur, and Tripura.



3.6. Formation of Maharashtra and Gujarat

Maharashtra rose in revolt against the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission for its recommendation in favour of a bilingual Bombay state. There was widespread rioting and violence. Recognised political parties organized violent agitation on a mass scale involving students, workers, businessmen, farmers, and others. In January 1956, eighty people were killed in Bombay city police firings.

Conflicting claims over Bombay city stood in the way of the formation of Maharashtra and Gujarat as separate states. Several alternatives – converting Bombay into a separate city-state like Vatican, Rome; or into a larger composite state, consisting of Bombay city and all the Gujarati- and Marathi-speaking areas including Vidarba, merging Maharashtra, Gujarat and Bombay city into a single state – were considered. Nehru vacillated.

The Samyukta Maharashtra Sarniti and the Mahagujarat Jan Parishad spearheaded the movements for the formation of unilingual Maharashtra and Gujarat states, respectively. The demand for the creation of Maharashtra with Bombay as its capital was louder and stronger. C.D. Deshmukh, Finance Minister in the Nehru Cabinet, resigned his post on this issue. The Gujaratis were up against for including Bombay city with Maharashtra. Ahmedabad plunged in violence, 16 persons were killed and 200 injured in police firings, besides widespread arson. In November 1956, the States Reorganisation Act based mostly on the SRC Report was passed. This Act only strengthened the Government's decision to divide Bombay state into two separate Linguistic State of Maharashtra and Gujarat with Bombay city forming a centrally administered state. This Act failed to satisfy the proponents of the unilingual states. Agitations persisted. Finally, in May 1960, the government of India

bifurcated the composite Bombay state into Maharashtra and Gujarat. Bombay was included Maharashtra, and Ahmedabad became the capital of Gujarat. Ultimately, linguistic longing of the people won the battle.

3.7. Demand for Punjabi Suba

The Report of the States Reorganisation Commission fanned the fire of the Sikh demand for a separate Panjabi Suba, since it suggested the formation of Greater Punjab in which Patiala and East Punjab States Union (PEPSU) and Himachal Pradesh were to be merged. In other words, instead of a unilingual state, a trilingual state, consisting of Punjab, Hindi- and Panjabi-speaking population, would be formed. Master Tara Singh, who dominated Akali Dal as well as the Sikh Gurudwara Prabandak Committee, rose in opposition to this proposal. Unfortunately, the Sikh communalists led by Akali Dal and the Hindu communalists led by the Jan Sangh "used the linguistic issue to promote communal politics". Nehru disapproved the demand for a separate Sikh state on communal grounds. Nehru visited Amritsar and convinced Tara Singh and his followers, without making any concession, and reduced the tension and animosity for the time being. However, the demand for Punjabi Suba continued to gather momentum and it was finally in 1966 that Indira Gandhi agreed to the division of Punjab into two Punjabi- and Hindi-speaking states of Punjab and Haryana, with the Pahari-speaking district of Kangra and a part of the Hoshiarpur district being merged with Himachal Pradesh. Chandigarh, the newly built city and capital of united Punjab, was made a Union Territory and was to serve as the joint capital of Punjab and Haryana. Thus, after more than 10 years of continuous strife and popular struggles the linguistic reorganization of India was largely completed, making room for greater political participation by the people. Events since 1956 have clearly shown that loyalty to a language was quite consistent with, and was rather complementary to, loyalty to the nation. By reorganizing the states on linguistic lines, the national leadership removed a major grievance which could have led to fissiparous tendencies. States reorganization is, therefore, best regarded as clearing the ground for national integration. Also, even though during the agitation for states reorganization, the language of warring camps was used and language has not subsequently defined the politics of the states. Equally important, linguistic reorganization of the states has not in any manner adversely affected the federal structure of the Union or weakened or paralysed the Centre as many had feared. The central government wields as much authority as it did before. The states have also been cooperating with the Centre in planning and economic development. Hardly any person complained of discrimination in the raising or expending of resources on grounds of language. If anything, the national government has been strengthened by the creation of coherent state units. To quote W.H. Morris-Jones: "The newly fashioned units, it is true, have a self-conscious coherence, but they are willing, thus equipped, to do business with the centre , to work as parts of a whole that is India." Thus, states' reorganization has not only not weakened the unity of the country but also as a whole strengthened it, thereby disappointing the prophets of gloom and removing the apprehensions of the friendly. To quote the political scientist Rajni Kothari: 'In spite of the

leadership's earlier reservations and ominous forebodings by sympathetic observers, the reorganization resulted in rationalizing the political map of India without seriously weakening its unity. If anything, its result has been functional, in as much as it removed what had been a major source of discord, and created homogeneous political units which could be administered through a medium that the vast majority of the population understood. Indeed, it can be said with the benefit of hindsight that language, rather than being a force for division, has proved a cementing and integrating influence. States' reorganization did not, of course, resolve all the problems relating to linguistic conflicts. Disputes over boundaries between different states, linguistic minorities, and economic issues such as sharing of waters, power, and surplus food still persist. Linguistic chauvinism also finds occasional expression. But the reorganization has removed a major factor affecting cohesion of the country.

Check Your Progress

1. Why was the Dar commission appointed?
2. What were the recommendations of the JVP committee?
3. Which is the first linguistic state formed in India?
4. What was the role of Potti Sriramalu in the creation of Andhra State?
5. Who were the members of the State Reorganization Commission?
6. When was the State Reorganization Act passed?
7. How many states and union territories were formed by the State Reorganization Act?
8. Who was the Prime Minister when the Punjab Reorganization Act was passed?

3.8. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. To enquire into the desirability of linguistic provinces.
2. This committee advised against the creation of linguistic states for the time being, emphasizing on unity, national security, and economic development as the needs of the hour.
3. Andhra Pradesh is the first state formed based on language in 1953.
4. Potti Sriramalu undertook a fast unto death over the demand for a separate Andhra and died after 58 days.
5. Nehru appointed in August 1953 the States Reorganisation Commission (SRC), with Justice Fazl Ali, K.M. Panikkar, and Hridaynath Kunzru as the members.
6. The States Reorganisation Act was passed by the parliament in November 1956.
7. Fourteen States and 6 Union territories were formed by the state reorganization act.
8. Mrs. Indira Gandhi was the Prime Minister when Punjab State Reorganization Act was passed.

3.9. SUMMARY

- The State Reorganization Act was passed in 1956 and formed 14 states and 6 union territories.
- The demand for reorganization on the basis of linguistics states was not issues exclusively in postindependent India; it was a part of the freedom struggle.
- In 1921, Congress amended its constitution and reorganized its regional branches on a linguistic basis.
- In 1948, Constituent Assembly appointed a one-man committee under S.K. Dar to enquire into the possibility of linguistic reorganization.
- In the same year, the JVP Committee was appointed.
- Both the committees were not in favor of any reorganization for the time being.
- Potti Sriramalu undertook fast unto death demanding for the separate Andhra; after his death, riots spread across Andhra Pradesh.
- The new state of Andhra was created in 1953 – the first state to be formed based on the language.
- Followed by this, the union government appointed the State Reorganization Commission.
- The commission submitted its report in favour of state reorganization with some modifications.
- Based on the recommendations of the SRC, the State Reorganization Act was passed in 1956; 14 states and 6 union territories were formed.
- However, this act did not concede the demand of bifurcation of the Bombay state.
- In 1960, the Bombay state was divided into Maharashtra and Gujarat; Bombay and Ahmedabad were their respective capitals.
- In 1966, Mrs. Indira Gandhi passed the Punjab Reorganization Act, according to which Punjab and Haryana states were formed; the newly established union territories (Chandigarh) served as the joint capitals of both the states, and with this the linguistic reorganization process came to an end.

3.10. KEY WORDS

Linguistics: Linguistics is the scientific study of language. Language is always connected with culture.
Linguistic Provinces Commission: on 17 June 1948, the Linguistic Provinces Commission was appointed under S.K. Dar, a former Judge of Allahabad High Court.
Fissiparous: The root of "fissiparous" is *fission*, or coming apart—the opposite of *fusion*, or fusing together. Thus, fissiparous tendencies are those tendencies pulling things
SRC: the State Reorganization Commission had Fazl Ali, K.M. Panikkar, and Hridaynath Kunzru as its members.
Gurudwara Prabandak Committee: The Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee is an organization responsible for the management of gurdwaras,

Sikh places of worship in three states of Punjab, Haryana, and Himachal Pradesh and the union territory of Chandigarh.

3.11. SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. Write a note on Linguistics Provinces Commission.
2. Discuss the major recommendations of the JVP Committee.
3. Discuss the factors responsible for the appointment of SRC.
4. Write a note on the political unrest in the Bombay state when the Linguistics Reorganization Act was passed.
5. Discuss the causes for the Punjab Reorganization Act 1966.

Long Answer Questions

1. Critically analyze the historical background of the demand for linguistic reorganization of states.
2. Write an essay on the Linguistic Reorganization Act and its consequences.

3.12. FURTHER READINGS

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BLOCK II: FOREIGN POLICY OF INDIA WITH OTHER NATIONS

Unit-4-FOREIGN POLICY OF INDIA

Structure

4.0. INTRODUCTION

Every sovereign country has its foreign policy. So does India. Foreign policy of a country refers to the sum total of principles, interests and objectives that the country promotes while interacting with other countries. Even though there are certain basic features of a foreign policy, it is not a fixed concept. The focus of the foreign policy keeps changing according to changing international conditions. India's foreign policy is shaped by several factors including its history, culture, geography and economy. Jawaharlal Nehru, being the first prime minister, rightly used the opportunity to provide a definite shape to the country's foreign policy.

4.1. OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson, you will be able to

- Identify the basic principles of India's foreign policy
- Explain the meaning and significance of non-alignment
- Analyze main feature of Panch Sheel Principles
- Explain political importance of Bandung Conference

4.2. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

That free India's foreign policy is the natural outgrowth of the past thinking and activities of the Indian National Congress (INC) beginning with the 1920s was contended by Jawaharlal Nehru himself in his writing, speeches and interviews to foreigners. The contention has been accepted largely. The INC

was established in 1885 and even between 1885 and 1920 it often used to pass resolutions on foreign policy. But they were sporadic because these resolutions remained confined to mild and mixed criticisms of the "forward policy" of the British Government in India in the name of establishing India's "scientific frontier". The background of free India's foreign policy may have begun in the 1920s much as a result of disillusionment following support to the British war efforts which fetched no substantive promise for the fulfillment of India's aspirations for self-government. It continued till the formation of the national Interim Government on 2 September, 1946. Certain features of India's non-alignment might appear to some to be perplexing. India subscribes to the values of parliamentary democracy which the West professes to champion and yet refuses to be drawn into the Western power bloc. India shuns military fortifications by refusing to have military aids demanding bloc affiliations and claims world peace as a distinct objective of the policy. India’s stands on international issues often appear sanctimonious. West's theme of Soviet imperialism is dismissed but the Soviet hand of friendship was readily accepted. The country refuses to get alienated from the West despite major differences on international questions. It persistently denies, and confirms the denial by behavior, any inclinations for the leadership of Asia, avoiding, until very lately, rivalries with China. It clings to the Commonwealth relationship and rejects the idea even of a third force. India’s protests to the omissions and commissions of the West are louder than to those of the Soviet bloc, disapproving of what appears to her as the West's pact mania. India befriends the communist powers but seeks to check the spread of the communists' influence within. Clues to such perplexing features have to be traced, to a great extent, in a generation's background stated above. While, for this purpose, the period remains to be treated as a whole, its trends have to be examined in phases. For a sound appraisal of their bearing on the emergence and development of non-alignment in free India. Accordingly, keeping in view both the changes in the dynamics of leadership in the Indian National Congress and the changing situation of international politics, this period may be divided into five phases:

1. The first phase may be viewed as one of inchoate beginning of interest in foreign affairs from November 1921 to January 1927.
2. The second phase took a comprehensive view of the international situation and its political implications, from February 1927 to the end of 1929.
3. The third phase, from January 1930 to March 1936, was characterized by an inward zed approach to the questions of India's external relations and security.
4. The period from April 1936 to September 1939 may be viewed as the fourth phase of probing the international situation which was getting complicated every day.
5. Lastly, the fifth phase, from September, 1939 to August 1946, may be viewed as one of making a final choice of free India's foreign policy.

4.2.1. Shaping of Foreign Policy

A nation's foreign policy may be defined as the country's concerted efforts to promote its shared objectives through diplomacy. Formulation of national goals and attempts to achieve them through diplomatic channels are the twin tenets of a country's foreign policy. Foreign policy goes beyond the country's borders and establishes contacts with other countries. In other words, if foreign policy is the end, diplomacy is the means to achieve it. In short, foreign policy is the bed-rock of international relations based on enlightened national interests.

4.2.2. Determinants

India's foreign policy is determined by a number of factors. It is the interplay of several complex factors that are intimately intertwined with India's geography, history, culture and politics as well as the prevailing world order. For convenience sake, these determinants are classified into internal (domestic) and external (foreign).

4.2.3. Internal Determinants

Geophysical

Geophysical factors play a significant role in shaping India's foreign policy. For instance, defending the Himalayas came to determine India's security and defence needs as well as her relations with neighboring countries. Similarly, India needs a strong, sophisticated and modernized navy to defend its 3,500 km coastal boundary. India's opposition to super powers' naval bases in the Indian Ocean is determined by own security needs. India's strategic location has placed it within easy reach of many sensitive areas including Pakistan, China, SE Asia, West and East Africa. Land and sea frontiers with India's neighbors have been important geographical determinants of India's foreign policy.

History and Culture

India's hoary, rich and varied historical and cultural experience were a conditioning determinant of her foreign policy. The historical links with the British was responsible for India remaining in the Commonwealth of Nations. Several elements of independent India's foreign policy could be traced to Indian National Movement. Likewise, India's cultural values such as peaceful co-existence, mutual respect, means justifying ends, tolerance, neutrality, righteous indignation are reflected in India's foreign policy.

Economy

The Validity, acceptability and credibility of India's foreign policy largely depends on her economic strength. A weak nation can never have an effective foreign policy. One reason why Nehru deliberately kept India out of cold war was his desire to concentrate upon the pressing problems of economic

development and to secure technical assistance from Super powers. India’s path of non-alignment India brought the much needed assistance from the U.S.S.R, the U.S.A. and the European countries. Economically strong India can play a more influential role in international relations.

Political Reality

Practical politics determine the nature, content and direction of the country's foreign policy. Since the Nehru Government was safe, stable and strong for a continuous period of seventeen years, it was able to shape and pursue India's foreign policy along the proper directions. Initially, Nehru found it difficult to follow an independent policy compatible with the nation's interests. Then he realized that India's views on world affairs were to some extent a continuation of the British foreign policy, sometimes a reaction against it, and mostly consisted of benevolent intensions.'

Personality

Foreign policy of a nation is the handy work of its leaders, statesmen and diplomats. Nehru's early experience abroad, his world view, broad understanding, rational perception, personal contacts with leaders of other Countries enabled and equipped him to formulate India's foreign policy that could be followed by his Successors with little modifications.

4.2.4. External Determinants

Super powers

When India attained independence, the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. were the super powers of the world, confronting each other through security arrangements and military pacts. They were vying with each other to attract the newly emerged nations like India to their respective power blocks. India wisely chose to be neutral. Had India fell for one of the powers, there would have been "nothing to gain but everything to lose by falling for the temptation of joining the military blocks of the big powers.

International Economic System

No country can be absolutely self-sufficient in its economic needs and requirements. Foreign trade and forex are the barometers to test a country's economy. Critical inputs of development flow through exports and imports. A developing country like India had to depend on international monetary institutions like World Bank, IMF and other developed countries to meet its developmental inputs. But these institutions and countries seek to extend their economic neo-colonialism through subtle strings and conditionalities. To fight the forces of neo-colonialism was, therefore, a major determinant of Nehru's foreign policy.

International Issues

India had to adjust itself to the constraints and compulsions of changing equations among nations in international relations. International issues like Cold War, defence pacts, power blocks, military alliances, proliferation of conventional and non-conventional nuclear weapons, military aid to countries, among others, were taken into consideration when the country's foreign policy was formulated.

Both the internal and external determinants are inter-related and inter-dependent. They act, react and interact to national and international requirements, demands and contingencies. These determinants are essential to framing a nation's foreign policy. Therefore, the success or failure of India's foreign policy can be assessed only after evaluating the cumulative impact of these determinants.

Check Your Progress

1. What is the meaning of foreign policy?
2. What were the factors that determine the foreign policy of any nation?
3. How history determines the foreign policy of India?
4. How Indian foreign policy was shaped with respect to the two super powers?

4.3. SALIENT FEATURES OF INDIAN FOREIGN POLICY

India’s Foreign Policy is unique, addressing issues prevailing not only in India but also in third world nations. The major components of her foreign policy address international issues such as anti-imperialism, anti-rationalism, promoting secularism, working for international peace, encouraging non-alignment (that is, remaining equidistant between the two powers), and respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other nations.

4.3.1. Panch Sheel, 1954

Meaning

'Panch Sheel' was first enunciated in the Sino-Indian Treaty on Tibet in April 1954. The Sanskrit term *Panch Sheel* means 'five codes of conduct'. At about this time when Nehru was pointing out the dangers of world extinction through nuclear conflict, Chairman Mao told Nehru that a future nuclear war was only another stage in the inevitable march towards socialism, and that if 300 million Chinese died in it, another 300 million would survive! Nehru constantly emphasized that peaceful co-existence of countries with different ideologies, differing systems, was a necessity and believed that nobody had a monopoly on the truth and that pluralism was a fact of life. To this end he outlined the five principles of peaceful coexistence, or Panch Sheel, for conducting relations among countries. These were (i) mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, (ii) non-aggression, (iii) non-interference in each other's internal affairs, (iv) equality and mutual benefit, and (v) peaceful coexistence.

4.3.2. Non-Alignment Movement

Bandung Conference, 1955

Objectives

The first Afro-Asian conference was held in Apri11955 in the Indonesian capital Bandung, in which 29 nations participated. The objectives of the conference were to (1) promote goodwill and cooperation among the Third World Countries, (2) consider social, economic and cultural problems of the Asian and African people; (3) view the position of Asia and Africa in their contribution to the promotion of world peace and cooperation.

Importance

President Sukarno of the Indonesian Republic hosted the conference and Nehru, Chou-en-Lai and Nasser of Egypt were some of the dignitaries who actively participated in the conference. Nehru highlighted the relevance of Non-alignment in the contemporary world and pointed out that the strength of the developing countries was in industrial development not of stockpiling weapons of war.

The basic parameters of India's Foreign Policy were explained by Jawaharlal Nehru in September 1946 when he declared:

> "We propose, as far as possible, to keep away from the power politics of groups aligned against one another, which have led in the past two World Wars and which may even lead to distress on an even vaster scale. We believe that peace and freedom are indivisible and the denial of Freedom anywhere must endanger freedom elsewhere and lead to conflict and war. We are particularly interested in the emancipation of colonial and dependent countries and peoples and in the recognition in theory and practice of equal opportunities for all races. We seek no domination over others and we claim no privileged position over other peoples".

In the late 1940s a bi-polar political world emerged. The two big world powers, the U.S.A and Russia had developed nuclear weapons and demonstrated their military might over weaker states. In Eastern Europe the pan-Slav movement gained popularity and Soviet influence over Hungry, Rumania and Bulgaria became paramount. To counter Russian influence in the north-east the U.S.A. extended liberal economic and military assistance to Greece and Turkey and kept them out of the orbit of Soviet Union. In Western Europe, both greater and lesser states turned their eyes towards the U.S.A.

Nehru's main contribution to the evolution of India's foreign policy was the acceptance and implementation of the concept of Non-alignment. Non-alignment meant taking independent decisions on international issues without being tied to any particular country or a group of countries. Thus, Nehru and India's subsequent foreign policy has been in favour of peace and

disarmament, racial equality and international co-operation for the peaceful resolution of international disputes.

Nehru's policy of Non-alignment was amply demonstrated during the Korean Crisis. During World War II, U.S.A. occupied South Korea and Russia occupied North Korea. At the Postdam Conference, the 38th parallel of latitude was recognized as the line of control between North Korea and South Korea. In 1950 India warned against the danger of expansion of conflict if the armies of one side were moved closer to the northern border of other. India's impartial approach received recognition when an Indian was chosen the chairman of the United Nations Repatriation Commission to deal with the issue of prisoners of war. Again, India struck to the policy of Non-alignment during the prolonged political crisis in Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. However, India opposed the aggressive attitude and action of the colonial powers. India took a courageous stand when in 1856 the Anglo-French forces invaded Egypt over the Suez Canal crisis. India's moral support to Egypt, both within and outside the UNO, greatly helped in the withdrawal of foreign troops from the Egyptian territory and recognition of Egypt's sovereignty over the Suez Canal.

The first Non-aligned conference was held at Belgrade in Yugoslavia in 1961 in which 25 countries took part. The assembled delegates emphasized the need for periodical consultations among Non-aligned countries. The popularity of the Non-aligned movement attracted more and more countries and at one time about 100 countries were actively associated with it. All along, the main focus of the movement was on independence, peace, disarmament and economic development.

Leaders such as Jawaharlal Nehru, Gamal Abdel Nasser of Egypt, Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana, Ahmed Sukarno of Indonesia and Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia played a vital role in the formation of the Non-Alignment Movement.

4.3.3. India and the Commonwealth of Nations

Nehru's Dilemma

The Imperial Conference turned Commonwealth was an association of British colonies and Dominions. The Statute of Westminster (1931) conferred internal autonomy to Dominions within the framework of allegiance to the British Crown. India remained a Dominion till it became a Republic on 26 January 1950. After 15 August 1947, "Nehru had no intention of going back on the resolution of the Constituent Assembly that India should be a free and sovereign republic"." Nehru was persuaded to remain in the Commonwealth.

Compelling Reasons

There were some compelling reasons and distinct advantages for India’s retaining its link with the Commonwealth: (1) The Commonwealth contact would help retain the loyalty of the higher civil and defence services after independence. (2) It would facilitate negotiations with the Princely States for securing their accession to the Indian Union. (3) It would provide an

additional channel for conducting international relations. As a member nation, India could counter the possible Pakistan's attempt to win over the Commonwealth countries against India on the Kashmir issue. (4) It would help improve and strengthen the trade links with the Britain and other member countries. Also India could rely on Britain for its defence needs. (5) The interests of the people of Indian origin who had migrated to Britain and other Commonwealth countries could be protected. (6) It offered good scope for foreign aid from countries like Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand for the developmental needs of India.

Role of India

India played a leading role in Commonwealth relations and was largely responsible in transforming the Commonwealth into the Commonwealth of Nations, a free association of sovereign states. India was successful in making the Commonwealth a bulwark against racialism and can claim credit for the peaceful transfer of power in Rhodesia (Zimbabwe) from the white minority government to the black majority government. In 1956, when Britain, France and Israel invaded Egypt, India along with other Commonwealth countries strongly indicted the imposition of imperialistic military solution for the Suez problem, as a result of which Britain agreed to accept U.N.-sponsored ceasefire in the Suez area. In 1962, when India was attacked by China, Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand sympathized with India and extended all possible help. India was severely criticized, especially by the USSR, for remaining in the imperialistic Commonwealth. It was dubbed as a blunder and an outrage on the national sentiments of self-respecting sovereign Indians. The acceptance of the British King/Queen as the Head of the Commonwealth of Nations amounted to a premium on India's independence. In balance, India was successful in securing friendship and cooperative relationship with member nations besides promoting economic trade and strengthening cultural links with other Commonwealth members.

4.4. Anti-Racism

The most challenging problem for the newly independent India was to engage with the international community. As discussed earlier, India under Nehru decided to maintain distance from the two super powers, and follow the path of nonalignment. This means that the support for any country is based on issues not on alliance. Although the two superpowers led by USSR and USA were not happy with India’s decision to not align with them, they later realized the India was taking the neutral stance. Further to this positioning, India took up issues at the international level when affected, through the UN.

One difficult problem for India was the apartheid problem Indians and other people of color. The white population of South Africa discriminated against black from India. India recalled its High Commissioner Deshmukh in the guise of consultations. The high commission remained open, though without the high commissioner, so the ground reality is known to the country. The promulgation of the Ghetto Act in 1946 forced India to impose trade sanctions.

India's high commission was managed by the secretory to the high commissioner, Meldrum. However, Meldrum was 'loyal to the H.C. (High Commissioner) though spiritually he is European in sympathy and outlook'. South Africa's Jan Smuts, Britain's Winston Churchill, Secretory of State Amery, Wavell as the Viceroy of India with support from highly toned down observations from Meldrum tried their level best to dilute India's reaction to apartheid in the international forum. The victimized population of South African was divided as moderates and radicals. Moderates were ready to agree for a compromise with the South African government; radicals were not.

India's replacement for Meldrum, Chari quickly got a grip of the situation. He worked closely with the Indian government, apprising of the developments and bringing it behind the radical group. The discrimination was now seen as part of African problem of discrimination rather than as India's problem in South Africa, as Meldrum had previously projected. Chari strongly suggested that India organize Anti-racial Discrimination Conference, to highlight the plight.

Most importantly, Chari recognized that shaming South Africa in the international community alone would not bring success. Using this as a pressure tactics, he organized discussions between India and South Africa under its new leader Malan for negotiations. Though the discrimination was a problem for both Pakistan and India, Pakistan was actually weakening India's efforts. Pakistan had little interest in the matter because there were hardly a hundred Pakistanis in South Africa then.

The Freedom Charter, adopted on 26 June 1955 at a gathering, known as the Congress of the People, signified a major break with the past traditions of the struggle calling for a fundamental restructuring of all aspects of South African society, especially the commitment to a non-racial South Africa.

Another crucial test for India's diplomatic international relationship is with Canada. Unlike South Africa, Canada had strongly supported India's cause for freedom and had developed a special relationship. There were two issues of racial discrimination and immigration that India sought to attack in Canada: the internal discrimination towards Indians already residing in Canada and the discriminatory polices denying Indians the ability to immigrate. All Indians in Canada had been asked to report to the government in 1939, solely so that the government could gauge their population. They were not deported, but were also denied any official status. After independence, the Indian government raised this matter with Canada, and negotiations followed quickly. Hardit Singh Malik and Santdas Kirpalani, two successive high commissioners to Canada, had to dealt with Canada in ways different from how Chari dealt with South Africa. This is because Canada had been a friend and partner and was willing to concede to certain demands within limitations and was open to provide immigration to a small population of 150 under a quota system. However, tokenism was not India wanted. Ramji Sasksena, the successive high commissioner, decided to take an aggressive stance, as Chari. From the pragmatic Malik and Kirpalani, to the more aggressive Saksena, Indian diplomats consistently sought to undermine Canada's racist policies, with some success. Nehruvian globalism sought non-interference and friendly relations with other countries where possible. This led to a combination of friendly nudging and negotiation from some

diplomats, and outright critique from others. This shows that Indian diplomatic practice in Canada dealt with issues of race and racism on a day-to-day basis. While in Canada they faced a friendly environment, Indian diplomats operated in far more difficult circumstances in Australia.

Check Your Progress

5. What was the significance of Panch Sheel?
6. How many nations participated in the 1955 Bandung conference?
7. When and where was Nonalignment Movement's first conference held?
8. Who heads the Commonwealth of Nations?

4.5. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. A nation's foreign policy may be defined as the country's concerted efforts to promote its shared objectives through diplomacy. Formulation of national goals and attempts to achieve them through diplomatic channels are the twin basics of foreign policy.
2. The foreign policy of any nation can be determined by many factors such as its geography, history, culture and politics as well as the prevailing world order.
3. The historical links with the British was responsible for India remaining in the Commonwealth of Nations.
4. When India became independent, USA and Soviet Union were the two super powers with challenging ideologies against each other. India wanted to maintain equal distance from these two super powers and adopted a new policy called Non-Alignment.
5. Mutual respect for each other's territories and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence are the five principles of Panch Sheel.
6. The first Afro-Asian conference was held in Apri11955 in the Indonesian capital Bandung, in which 29 nations participated.
7. Nonalignment Movement's first conference was held in Belgrade in Yugoslavia in 1961 in which 25 countries took part.
8. The British Crown is the head of the Commonwealth of Nations.

4.6. SUMMARY

- India created its own foreign policy after attaining its independence.
- The first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru played a vital role in formulating the foreign policy of India, and is therefore called the architect of India's Foreign Policy.
- The evolution of India's foreign policy dates back to Indian National Movement, particularly the early years of the 1920s.
- The evolution of foreign policy during the freedom struggle could be classified into five faces.

- India's foreign policy is determined by various factors such as geography, history, culture and politics as well as the prevailing world order.
- Panch Sheel principles consist of five features that ensure international peace and stability and can be considered as the backbone of India's foreign policy.
- Nehru and Chinese Prime Minister sign the Panch Sheel Principles.
- The Bandung conference was another landmark in Indian foreign policy
- The first Afro-Asian conference was held in Apri1 1955 in the Indonesian capital Bandung, in which 29 nations participated. The objectives of the conference were to (1) promote goodwill and cooperation among the Third World Countries, (2) consider social, economic and cultural problems of the Asian and African people, and (3) view the position of Asia and Africa in the world contribution they could make to the promotion of world peace and cooperation.
- Another important aspect of India's foreign policy was Non-Alignment Movement, and its first conference was held in Belgrade in Yugoslavia in 1961 in which 25 countries took part.
- Though India perceived an independent foreign policy and sovereign nation, it is the member of commonwealth nations (Association of British Colonies).

4.7. KEY WORDS

Foreign Policy: Foreign policy means the sum total of principles, interests and objectives which a country promotes while interacting with other countries.

Commonwealth: It is an association of British colonies and Dominions. The acceptance of the British King / Queen as the Head of the Commonwealth of Nations amounted to a premium on India's independence.

Bandung: It is in Indonesia. This place assumed historical significance when the first Afro-Asian conference was held in Apri1 1955 in Bandung.

Super Powers: After the Second World War, the USA promoted capitalist ideology and Soviet Union practised communist ideology. Both the nations wanted to spread their ideologies across the globe through alliances and counter-alliances. These nations were called world super powers until Soviet Union disintegrated in 1990.

Non-Alignment Movement: It was the movement organized by the third world countries who did not join the capitalist block or did not promote communist ideology. These nations officially met in 1961 in Belgrade.

Sovereign: The word is borrowed from Old French *sovereign*, which is ultimately derived from the Latin word *superānus*, meaning "above". It established political supremacy and ensure its independency. A

sovereign nation cannot be controlled by another nation with regard to foreign policy and internal policy.

Panch Sheel: It outlined the five principles of peaceful coexistence, or Panch Sheel, for ensuring relations among countries: mutual respect for each other's territories and sovereignty, non-aggression, equality and mutual benefit, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, and peaceful coexistence.

International Peace: Peace means absence of war. It is very essential to prevent wars because millions of lives can be saved. At the international level, the concept of peace encourages both politics and society.

Third World Countries: It included nations mostly in Asia and Africa that did not align with either the United States or the Soviet Union. The United States was considered a member of the First World and Russia was considered a member of the Second World.

Apartheid: Apartheid was a system of institutionalised racial segregation that existed in South Africa and South West Africa from 1948 until the early 1990s.

4.8. SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. Write a note on Nehru's formulation of India's foreign policy.
2. Discuss the political importance of Bandung Conference.
3. Write a note on Commonwealth of Nations?
4. What were the causes for the creation of Nonalignment Movement?

Long Answer Questions

1. Critically analyze the major factors that determine the Indian foreign policy.
2. Write an essay on Nonalignment Movement and its role during the Cold War.
3. Explain how Panch Sheel principles ensure peace and stability at the international level.

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UNIT-5 -RELATIONS WITH THE USA, RUSSIA, CHINA, PAKISTAN

Structure

5.0. INTRODUCTION

India's relationship with other countries could broadly divided into two. One, relations with super powers (USA and Soviet Union). Second, relationship with neighboring states particularly China and Pakistan. After the Second World War, the entire world had divided into two major blocks on the basis of their own ideology (Capitalist and Communist). The Capitalist block was headed by USA, whereas the Communist block was led by Soviet Union. Both the powers were involved in alliances and counter alliances to spirit their ideology worldwide. USA concluded NATO, SEATO, and CENTO, and Soviet Union signed the Warsaw Pact in 1955 to encourage their ideology. Most of the countries joint either of the two blocks. In this background, India's foreign policy was crucial. Nehru clearly declared that he wanted to maintain equal distance from both the powers. Hence, India adopted a policy of non-alignment.

India aims for a peaceful relationship with its neighbors. Soon after Independence, India devised the objectives of its foreign policy towards its neighbors, particularly China and Pakistan. In 1949, when communist revolution took over China under the leadership of Mao Zedong, India was a country to recognize communist China. Even though early relationship with China was peaceful, unfortunately Chinese aggression in the 1960s deteriorated the relationship between the two nations. Like China, Pakistan has maintained a hostile relationship with India since the days of partition. Kashmir issues and cross-border terrorism test the relationship between India and Pakistan. Apart from that, India's role in United Nations Organization since its inception is significant. India has always worked with UNO for maintaining international peace. The formation of SAARC in the 1980s and India's role are another mile stone in India's foreign policy. In this background, the present chapter will analyze India's relationship with USA and Soviet Union, relationship with neighbors and its role in UNO and SAARC.

5.1. OBJECTIVES

At the end of this chapter, you will be able to understand the following:

- India's relationship with USA during the time of and the aftermath of Nehru.
- India's early relationship with Soviet Union.
- Relationship between India and Soviet Union during Indira Gandhi's period and aftermath
- The Indo-China relationship since 1949.
- Indo-Pak relations particularly conflicting areas. Role of India in UNO to ensure International peace and stability.
- Formation of SAARC and its objectives and India's role

5.2. RELATIONS WITH USA

5.2.1. Jawaharlal Nehru

After the Second World War both USA and Soviet Union divided the world into two poles: the ideological antagonism and political alienation between Truman and Joseph Stalin of the USSR divided the world into two diametrically opposite spheres of influence. India was the first among the emerging developing countries, which comprehended the sinister implications of joining either of the two power blocs. Nehru was apprehensive of India becoming subjected to extraneous influences, and India was not to take sides in this ideological confrontation. He wanted to cooperate with all countries, without malaise toward none, so that he could focus on the enlightened national interests of India. By opposing Cold War compulsions, Nehru not only defended India's capacity to exercise option independently but also safeguarded India's capacity to exercise her options freely. Nehru's independent foreign policy and his role in shaping the Cold War world were resented by the big powers, particularly the US.

5.2.2. Nehru's Neutral Stand

Nehru wanted to maintain cordial relations with the USA without compromising his convictions. He visited Washington D.C. in 1949 but refused to support the West in its efforts to change the post–Second World War order. Truman and Dean Acheson, his secretary of State, were amazed that India could refuse to fall in line with US policies despite the need for America's support for India's development. However, Nehru and Dwight D. Eisenhower, Truman's successor, outgrew their differences over Cold War and agreed to promote bilateral relations. Particularly, they converged on the importance of supporting 'Atoms for Peace' programme. Indo-US trade and technical cooperation between the two countries made substantive progress during this period (1954–1962).

5.2.3. Stumbling Blocks

Indo-US relations received positive impetus when John Kennedy succeeded Eisenhower. Kennedy greatly supported India in many respects. The 'operational support' he extended towards the end of the Sino-Indian War of 1962 was strategically significant. JohnGalbraith, America's Ambassador in India, helped cement the relations between the two democratic countries. However, India's anti-cold war stance, its socialist orientation, opposition to military alliances, and recognition of Fidel Castro’s regime in Cuba among other India's views and stands stood in the way of cordial relations between the two countries. In short, Indo-US relations during the Nehru Era were "characterized by disappointment on the part of India and suspicions on the part of Washington".

5.2.4. Indira Gandhi

After the death of Nehru, his successor and the second Prime Minister Lal Bagadur Shastri ruled in India for less than 2 years. His tenure is so short that no meaningful conclusion could be made of his foreign policy with special reference to USA. After his death, Indira Gandhi became the Prime Minister in 1966. She visited USA on the invitation of US President Lindon B Johnson, the same year. During her visit, Indira Gandhi impressed on the US President the need for American aid in terms of food and foreign exchange. America had suspended aid to India in 1965 at the time of the Indo-Pak war and now stipulated conditions before aid would be restored. However, Johnson premised three million tons of food and nine million in aid. 'The Indo-US relations touched the nadir when India signed the Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Co-operation with Russia in 1971. America demonstrated her displeasure against India during the Indo-Pak war in the same year. The US vehemently criticized India for interfering with the internal affairs of Pakistan and President Nixon deployed the US 7th fleet to the Bay of Bengal. America ordered complete stoppage of economic assistance and supply defence equipment to India. The Pokhran Test had driven a wedge in the Indo-US relations. The US was not willing to buy back the spent fuel rods, nor it was willing to allow India to use this material for further nuclear purposes, peace, or otherwise. This issue caused a stalemate in the relations between the two countries. Indira Gandhi's imposition of Emergency in 1975 created tensions in the Indo-US relations. President Ford expressed his displeasure over the derailment democracy in India.' The US moved closer to Pakistan. In short, the Indo-US relations received jolts and jerks than warmth and friendship during the first phase of Indira Gandhi's reign.

5.2.5. Janata Foreign Policy

The US President Jimmy Carter visited India in January 1978 and Prime Minister Morarji Desai reciprocated the visit to the US in June the same year. Though cordiality continued, India's consistent resistance to sign NPT and US supply of nuclear fuel to Tarapur became increasingly controversial and stood in the way of close and cordial relations between the two countries. During his

four-day visit to the US, Foreign Minister A.B. Vajpayee discussed with the US authorities the issues relating to the supply of uranium, the problem of Pakistan's attempt to develop nuclear bomb, and the need to declare Indian Ocean a zone of peace. Both Desai and Vajpayee failed to break ice with the US. "During Desai's term in office, the two governments did not move beyond structuring positive political atmospherics".

5.2.6. Second Coming Mrs. Indira Gandhi

Indira Gandhi's second tenure as Prime Minister coincided with the rule of President Ronald Reagan in the USA. She visited the USA in July 1982 and tried to mend the fences of friendship, which was broken by the Emergency. Her meeting with President Reagan was warm and friendly; she, however, refused to equate the Soviet presence in Afghanistan with the presence in Vietnam. Apart from this, the issue of Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean, the recognition Cambodia, and India's nuclear policy stood in the way of healthy Indo-US relations.

5.2.7. Rajiv Gandhi

Rajiv Gandhi's visited the US twice on June 1985 and on October 1987. On both the visits, Rajiv Gandhi and Ronald Reagan discussed matters of mutual interest, particularly about the continued supply of sophisticated military hardware to Pakistan. (C) During the period of Rajiv Gandhi's term in office, Indo-US relations remained apparently cordial and friendly but without warmth.

5.2.8. P.V. Narasimha Rao

The US Administration responded positively to the economic liberalization reforms initiated by Rao's Government. Rao's official visited Washington in May 1994 and the Joint statement was issued by PM Rao and President Clinton underlining the importance of new partnership, liberalization, and human rights. The two leaders welcomed the successful conclusion of the Urguay Round and pledged support for WTO. Rao's visit resulted in the U.S memorandum of understanding relating to trade, commerce, and technology defence. (C) Also both the countries agreed to give qualitative content to Indo-US defence cooperation, which had developing since 1991. However, the post-Cold War relations between India and the United States revealed three constraints to the Indo-US relations: (1) nuclear nonproliferation; (2) missile control; and (3) patents for pharmaceuticals and chemicals. Besides comprehensive test-ban arrangements, transfer of sophisticated technologies and the structuring of new agreements for the management of international trade and environment remained bones of contention between the two countries. Despite disagreements and differences in principles and perceptions, India and the US decided to desist from divergences and devote on convergent factors, which gave strength to bilateral relations.

5.2.9. United Front Government

For long, India had depended on the Soviet Union for its defence requirements. The USA viewed this relationship against the backdrop of the Cold War. In the post-Cold War world, the problem of nuclear nonproliferation remained contentious in the Indo-US relations. The USA continued to exert pressure on India to sign Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) as well as the proposed Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT). India succeeded in blocking the CTBT in the conference on disarmament in 1996. It also voted against it in the UN General Assembly.

Prime Minister I.K. Gujral met US President Bill Clinton during the UN General Assembly session in September 1997. As requested by Gujral, President Clinton did not raise the Kashmir issue in the UN. More significantly, the US President for the first time told Pakistan Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif in September 1977 that the Kashmir issue should be resolved bilaterally between India and Pakistan and that the USA would not mediate between the two neighbors. During his meeting with Bill Clinton, Prime Minister Gujral agreed to reopen official and technical level discussions on disarmament issues with the US. This positive improvement in Indo-US relations was mainly due to Gujral Government's nonconfrontationist of negativism.

5.2.10. Vajpayee

The Indo-US relations received a serious setback when the Government conducted nuclear tests in May 1998 and declared India a nuclear-weapon state. The US refused to accept India as a nuclear state. Instead it insisted that India must sign the CTBT. However, the relations between the two countries improved significantly during and after the Kargil conflict. American President, Bill Clinton, played a vital role in diffusing tension between India and Pakistan. The US also turned down the Pakistan request to send a special envoy to Kashmir and nor was it willing to mediate between the two neighbors. The changed altitude of US towards India was clear by early 2000. President Bill Clinton's visit to India in March 2000 helped to reestablish friendly relationship between US and India in the 21st century. At the end of summit level talks between President Clinton and Prime Minister Vajpayee, they released the historic document "Vision for the 21st Century". The vision statement, among other things, pledged to deepen the Indo-American partnership in tangible ways by always seeking to reconcile differences through dialogue and engagement. After the terrorist attack in New York and Washington D.C. on 11 September, 2001, the US President George W. Bush sought the support of countries to his 'war on terror'. India being a victim of cross-border terrorism extended enthusiastic support to Bush's struggle against terrorism. The transformation of Indo-US relations was based on the conviction that US interests required a strong and sustained relationship with India. Though India and US held different views on the question of military action against Iraq in 2003, the two countries were negotiating an agreement for 'the Trinity' to ensure cooperation in the high-technology trade, space launch, and civilian nuclear industry. Similarly, India was supportive of Bush's

proposal for Proliferation Security Initiative (PSI). The idea mooted by Bush in May 2003 was to entitle the participant countries to search planes and ships, trains and trucks carrying suspect cargo of weapons of mass destruction. Eleven nations participated in the PSI. There was regime change when the BJP Government was examining the possibility of joining the PSI.

Check Your Progress

1. When did Nehru visited the USA after assuming office as Prime Minister?
2. Who was the USA ambassador to India when Indo-China conflict took place in 1962?
3. Which was the country Indira Gandhi undertook her first State visit?
4. Which country provided fuel to Tarapur power Plant?
5. Who was the President of USA when Rajiv Gandhi visited the USA?
6. When did US President Bill Clinton visit India?
7. Who was the Prime Minister of India and President of USA when Civilian Nuclear Cooperation was concluded?

5.3. INDO-SOVIET RELATIONS

5.3.1. Jawaharlal Nehru

For the first 6 years after India's independence (1947–53), Indo-Soviet relations were anything but congenial and cordial. Joseph Stalin, who described India's freedom struggle as 'bourgeoisie national movement' considered independent India as an 'appendage of Britain' and a 'lackey of British imperialism'! Stalin did not meet the Indian Ambassador to Soviet Union, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, and reluctantly received her successor. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. Stalin years were marked by a lack of clarity, warped ideology, and jaded relations.

5.3.1.1. Relationship after Stalin

The post-Stalin period was a watershed in Indo-Soviet relations. Nehru visited the USSR in 1955 and was received with warmth and friendship. The Joint Communique, issued at the end of his visit, affirmed faith in Panchsheel expressed their desire for promoting bilateral development and work in unison to promote world peace. Similarly, Bulganbr and Nikita Khrushchev visited India the same year and firmed up the relationship. As a result, India received a large measure of Soviet help and diplomatic Support.

5.3.1.2. The Decade of Co-operation

From 1954 to 1964, economic, trade, and defence cooperation between India and Soviet Union registered new heights. Soviet aided Public Sector complexes at Bhilai, Barauni, Bokara, Ranchi, and Rishikesh punctuated India. In September 1964, Russia came forward to supply MIG fighter planes, missiles, tanks, submarines, and infantry weapons. USSR consistently supported India on the Kashmir issue in the UNO. Pakistan proximity to the

US and China was effectively checkmated. 'Contentful relations' between the two countries continued unabated. In short, Nehru's foreign policy "laid the foundations of the Indo-Soviet equation which served the vital interests of both countries".

5.3.2. Mrs. Indira Gandhi

When Indira Gandhi succeeded Shastri as Prime Minister of India, she was regarded by the Soviet Union not only merely as Nehru's daughter but also as progressive leader in her own right. In September 1966, she visited Moscow with a view to strengthen India's 'special relations' with Russia. But India was dismayed when the Soviet Union decided to supply arms to Pakistan. When Russia was disenchanted with Pak's pro-US and pro-China stance, she started improving Indo-Soviet relations, which led to the conclusion signing a historic treaty of peace with the country.

5.3.2.1. Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Co-operation, 1971

On 9 August 1971, India and the Soviet Union signed the treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Co-operation. The treaty had an immense impact on Indo-Soviet relations. The Treaty helped to 1) deter Pakistan threat to India's security, 2) check the possible Sino-Pak collusion against India, 3) neutralize the growing Washington-Pindi-Beijing entente, 4) indirectly help to make a decisive contribution towards the formation Bangladesh, 5) assure Soviet support during the Bangladesh War, and 6) prevent the adoption of the US-China sponsored anti-India moves in the U.N. Security Council. During 1966–77, the Indo-Soviet relations continued to develop on positive and productive lines despite initial setbacks.

5.3.3. Janata Government

Desai was openly critical of the communist ideology and the authoritarian system of the Soviet Union. On 2 March 1977, Morarji Desai said that his government would follow a policy of 'proper nonalignment' and remarked that India need not honor the one-sided Indo-Soviet Treaty of 1971. Similarly, Brezhnev was skeptical and suspicious of Desai's anti-Soviet Union and pro-western views. But when the Soviet Foreign Minister A.A. Gromyko visited India on 25 April, 1977, both countries concluded new agreements and reaffirmed faith in the spirit of the 1971 Treaty. Desai visited Russia and signed agreements of economic cooperation. But his Moscow visit was 'nonevent'. Once in power, Morarji Desai realized the imperative importance of maintaining healthy relations with the Soviet Union.

5.3.4. Second coming Mrs. Indira Gandhi

Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev visited India in December 1980 and signed important bilateral trade agreements for the period 1980–85. Indira Gandhi's visit in September 1982 to the Soviet Union provided an opportunity to her to express her views on 'nuclear warheads which were shown like dragon’s teeth

over vast stretches', South Africa's apartheid arrogance, Palastinians' sufferings, Israel's continued aggression, etc., unmindful of American reactions. During this period, Indo-Soviet relations were marked by cordiality, mutuality, and compatibility.

5.3.5. Rajiv Gandhi

Rajiv Gandhi's six-day visit to the Soviet Union in May 1985 resulted in signing two important bilateral agreements on economic cooperation. Reciprocating Rajiv's visit to Moscow, Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Soviet Union paid a four-day visit to India on 25–28 November, 1986. During his visit, the two leaders signed several important agreements, issued a joint statement, and more important a 10-point declaration known as New Delhi Declaration.

5.3.6. P.V. Narasimha Rao

India was on the cross-roads when the Soviet Union disintegrated and the Russian Federation came into existence, under Boris Yeltsin. Prime Minister, Narasimha Rao, preferred a policy of continuity with change to cope up with the new Soviet dispensation. The 1971 Indo-Soviet Treaty was renewed in 1991 affirming Soviet commitment to respect India's sovereignty and territorial integrity and security. Russian President Boris Yeltsin's visit to India in 1993 dispelled the doubts about Indo-Soviet relations. Yeltsin reiterated his country's commitment to India's Kashmir policy. The two leaders signed a military and Technical Cooperation Agreement. The Russian President also pledged to provide technological assistance to India for the much needed manufacture of Cryogenic engines for the use of India's peaceful outer space research programme. Thus, Russia was moving closer to India.

Prime Minister Narasimha Rao visited Russia in June–July 1994, which helped in removing the bottlenecks in the bilateral relations. The visit resulted in a couple of significant declarations on fighting forces of religious fanaticism and improving bilateral relations, and nine agreements. During Soviet Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin's visit to India in December 1994, the two countries signed more agreements aiming to strengthen and improve cooperation in fields like technology, space research, and strategy. At the end of the Cold War, the long-term strategic interest of both the countries coincided. In short, Indo-Soviet relations during Rao's Regime were consolidated to further promote the enlightened Indian national interests.

5.3.7. United Front Government

The post-Cold War Soviet Union deliberately created distance between itself and India and moved closer to Western Europe. Since that approach had not been successful, the Yeltsin Government reexamined Russian priorities and came closer to India again. Gujral made the most of the pro-India orientation of Russian foreign policy. Prime Minister Deve Gowda visited Moscow, held extensive discussions with President Boris Yeltsin and Prime Minister Victor Chernomyrdin, and signed several agreements. Some of the notable

agreements are the avoidance of double taxation, mutual assistance in customs, plant protection, quarantine, extradition, mutual assistance in criminal matters, a consular convention, and physical culture and sports. The Russians in turn agreed to assist India in expanding its nuclear capacities for peaceful purposes. Russia also agreed to an integrated defence supplies programme with India. Significantly, President Yeltsin assured Deve Gowda that his country supported India's claim to the permanent membership of the U.N. Security Council, expressed keenness to assist India in hydroelectric energy, and declared that Russia had imposed a ban on the sale of armaments to Pakistan. As a result of Indo-Russia Summit of March 1977, Russia moved closer to India.

5.3.8. Vajpayee

After the disintegration of USSR, the Indo-Russia relations were on the 'downswing'. The downward trend was reversed during the late 1990s. The friendship between India and Russia was traditional, cordial, and cooperative. Russia had refused to apply sanctions against India after Pokhran II nuclear tests. From the very inception of the Kargil conflict, Russia Consistently supported India and urged Pakistan to withdraw Pakistan infiltrators and regulars from the Indian side of Line of Control (LOC). Similarly, Russia opposed internationalization of the Simla Agreement and Lahore Declaration as the firm bases of resolving all outstanding issues between India and Pakistan.

Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin succeeded Boris Yeltsin in 1999. Since then Indo-Russia relations were strengthened. When he visited India in October 2000, Prime Minister Vajpayee and Putin signed a declaration on strategic partnership. It committed India and Russia to nonparticipation in any military, political, or other alliances. Above all, Putin effectively breached the long standing international nuclear blocked against India by committing Russia to expand atomic energy cooperation with India.

Prime Minister Vajpayee paid a state visit to Russia in November 2001. India and Russia issued a joint statement on strategic issues and laid the foundation of a world order based on multipolarity. The Delhi Declaration was issued when Putin visited India in December 2002, which aimed to enhance the strategic cooperation and setting up a joint working group on combating terrorism. Besides, the two countries committed themselves to strengthening economic, scientific, and cultural cooperation. In March 2003, Russia and India deplored US Military action against Iraq, without authorization by the U.N. Security Council. Russia has been promoting the idea of greater understanding, friendship, and cooperation between India, China, and Russia.

Check Your Progress

8. Who was the first Indian Ambassador to Soviet Union to have met Stalin?
9. What defence equipment was to be supplied by the Soviet Union in 1964?
10. Who was the Indian Prime Minister who signed the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation?
11. Which country supplied the Cryogenic Technology to India?

5.4. RELATIONS WITH CHINA

5.4.1. Jawaharlal Nehru

India adopted a policy of friendship towards China from the very beginning. The Congress had been sympathetic to China's struggle against imperialism and had sent a medical mission to China in the 1930s as well as given a call for boycott of Japanese goo in protest against Japanese occupation of China. On 1 January 1950, India became the first country to recognize the new People's Republic of China. Nehru hoped that the two countries, with their shared experience of colonial suffering and common problems of poverty and underdevelopment, would join hands to give Asia its due place in the world. Nehru pressed for the representation for Communist China in the UN. The Security Council did not support the US position in the Korean War and tried his best to bring about a settlement in Korea. In 1950, when China occupied Tibet, India was unhappy that it had not been taken into confidence, but did not question China's rights over Tibet since many times in Chinese history Tibet had been subjugated China. In 1954, India and China signed a treaty in which India recognized China's rights over Tibet and the two countries agreed to be governed in their mutual relations by the principles of Panchsheel. Differences over border delineation were discussed at this time but China maintained that it had not yet studied the old Kuomintang maps and these could be sorted out later. Relations continued to be close and Nehru took immense efforts to project China and Zhou Enlai at the Bandung Conference. In 1959, however, there was a big revolt in Tibet and the Dalai Lama fled Tibet along with thousands of refugees. India gave asylum but did not allow him to set up a government-in-exile and dissuaded him from carrying on political activities. Nevertheless the Chinese were unhappy. Soon after, in October 1959, the China opened fire on an Indian patrol near the Kongka pass in Ladakh killing five Indian policemen and capturing a dozen others. Diplomatic efforts did not fetch any results. Then, Zhou Enlai was invited for talks to Delhi in April 1960, but not much headway could be made and it was decided to let officials sort out the details first.

5.4.1.1. Chinese Invasion

On 8 September 1962, Chinese forces attacked the Thagla ridge and dislodged Indian troops, but this was considered as a minor incident. The Chinese army launched a massive attack and overran Indian posts in the eastern sector in NEFA, now known as Arunachal Pradesh. The Indian army commander in NEFA fled without offering resistance. In the western sector, on 20 October, 13 forward posts were captured by the Chinese in the Galwan valley, and the Chushul airstrip was threatened. Indians feared that the Chinese would come rushing in to the plains and occupy Assam and perhaps other parts as well. Nehru wrote two letters to President Kennedy on 9 November, describing the situation as really desperate and asking for wide-ranging military help. He also sought Britain's assistance. Twenty-four hours later, the Chinese declared a unilateral withdrawal and, as unpredictably as it had appeared; the Chinese

dragon disappeared from sight, leaving behind a heartbroken friend and a confused and disoriented people.

5.4.2. Indira Gandhi

In the post-1962 period, Indo-Sino relations remained cold and unfriendly. Even diplomatic relations were downgraded. China and Pakistan came closer. China extended full support to Pakistan during the 1965 Indo-Pak war, stopping short of intervention in the war. Chinese attitude towards the border dispute with India, the continued border incidents between Chinese and Indian troops, and the Chinese surreptitious support to anti-Indian elements like extremist Nagas, Mizos, and the Naxalites, etc., combined to create further strains in the bilateral relations between the two countries. China had cold-shouldered the offer made by Indira Gandhi in 1968 to have talks on the border issue. During 1966–67, Indo-Sino relations continued to be unfriendly and hostile.

5.4.3. Janata Government

Prime Minister Morarji Desai favoured the normalization with China, though he made it clear that the border issue was of central concern for India. He reiterated that full normalization could be achieved only after border issued was settled. After a gap of 30 years, Foreign Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee visited China in February/March 1979. During this visit, Chinese leaders, particularly, Deng Xiaoping first conveyed the view that China was willing to normalize relations with India without preconditions. On his part, Vajpayee suggested that Indo-Sino dialogue on noncontroversial issues must be renewed. Both the leaders set aside the boundary question for the time being. "This exchange marked a crucial positive shift in Sino-Indian relations".

5.4.4. Rajiv Gandhi

When Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister of India, profound changes had been taking place in China under the new leadership of Deng Xiaoping. China was opening up to international relationship. Rajiv Gandhi wanted to take advantage of the changing situation for better and move forward to establish a better relationship with Deng's China. Gandhi made a historic visit to Beijing after 34 years, in December 1988, marking a new beginning in Indo-Sino relations. He was well-received with the highest traditional honours and held extensive bilateral discussions with Deng Xiaoping. They decided to establish a Joint Working Group to discuss and resolve Indo-Sino border dispute. They also agreed to revive and expand bilateral economic, scientific cultural, and technological relations. More important, it was agreed to initiate steps to reduce tension along the line of control on the borders between the two countries. Rajiv Gandhi's most momentous visit to China truly laid the foundation for healthy interactive relationship between India and China. In short, Rajiv Gandhi eminently succeeded in creating a congenial climate for positive, constructive, and functional relations between the two countries.

5.4.5. Narasimha Rao

Prime Minister Narasimha Rao took the bilateral relations to the next level. During Li Peng's India visit in December 1991, he and Rao agreed that boundary dispute should not stand in the way of the expanding bilateral relations and to resume border trade. Prime Minister Rao paid a return visit to China in 1993. Both Rao and Li Peng agreed to keep the border dispute apart, to maintain peace along the line of actual control, and to develop friendly relations in other fields. (C) Since then, there had been a gradual expansion of economic, technological, and cultural cooperation between the two countries.

5.4.6. United Front Government

During the brief United Front rule, Sino-Indian relations normalized. Prime Minister Deve Gowda met Chinese Premier Li Peng in November 1996, on the sidelines of the FAO meet on world food problem in Rome. He assured his Chinese counterpart that Dalai Lama in India would not be allowed to engage in political activity on the Indian soil. Premier Li Peng reciprocated to develop enduring long-term relationship with India. His positive statement was construed to be a welcome move in the promotion of cordial relations between the two neighbours.

5.4.7. Vajpayee

China's relations with India had always been halting, hesitant, and half-hearted. NDA Government's nuclear tests in May 1998 and boasting itself a nuclear-weapon state had adversely affected India's relations with China. Vajpayee mentioned that the Chinese threat as an impulse for India's nuclear weaponization, which further deteriorated Sino-Indian relations. China stood steadfast by the United Nations Security Council Resolution in 1998, calling upon India and Pakistan to destroy their nuclear weapons. However, China for the first time after several years supported India's stand on Kargil conflict and asked Pakistan to withdraw intruders from Kargil. President K.R. Narayanan's visit to China in May 2000 created a congenial environment of trust between India and China. Chinese President Jiang Zamin's visit to India later in 2000 helped to carry forward mutual trust and cooperation. On his invitation, Prime Minister Vajpayee visited China in 22–27 June, 2003 first in 13 years. Both the leaders advocated a multiplicity world rather than unipolar world dominated by one super power. More important, the two leaders decided to appoint special representatives with the mandate to explore the possibility of the long-pending question of border dispute.

5.4.8. Manmohan Singh

The UPA Government showed great interest in consolidating relations between India and China. In their summit meeting in New Delhi in November 2006, President Hu Jintao and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh signed 13 agreements on protocols, notably on mutual understanding, enhancing bilateral trade and undertaking a feasibility study on a free-trade agreement. However,

there have been a few irritants in the India-China relations which need to be resolved. For instance, China's occupation of foliage areas of Indian Territory and its claim to Aksai Chin in Ladakh. China continues to claim the reunification of Arunachal Pradesh with that country. The undesignated Line of Actual Control (LAC) between India and China remains a major destabilizing factor. The China-Pakistan nexus in the nuclear, missiles, and military hardware poses strategic challenge to India. These issues need to be resolved through bilateral talks and negotiations.

Check Your Progress

12. Which Indian territory was attacked by the Chinese in 1962?
13. What was the significance of the 1954 Treaty?
14. Who was the first high-level political leader who visited China after 1962?

5.5. RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN

5.5.1. Jawaharlal Nehru

India and Pakistan were born in bloodshed and bred with hostility. With the death of Jinnah in 1948 and the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan in 1952, Indo-Pakistan relations worsened. Partition, transfer of population, problem of minorities, issue of compensation, division of state assets, canal water disputes, boundary 'Controversy, integration of Princely States, and particularly the Kashmir dispute have coloured, conditioned, and complicated Indo-Pakistan relations.

5.5.1.1. Kashmir Dispute

Ever since the Nehru era, Indo-Pakistan relations has centered around Kashmir dispute. UN debates on the Kashmir issue, UN Security Council resolutions on the dispute, UN Commissions on Kashmir problem, and bilateral talks helped only to fan the imbroglio. Pakistan's defence agreement with the USA (1954), its participation in the Baghdad Pact (CENTO), and strategic proximity to China had made matters worse. "Pakistan became an aberrant regional concern of India's foreign policy".

5.5.1.2. Indus Waters Treaty

The treaty was signed on September 19, 1960, between India and Pakistan and was brokered by the World Bank. The treaty fixed and delimited the rights and obligations of both countries concerning the use of the waters of the Indus River system. The treaty gave the waters of the western rivers—the Indus, Jhelum, and Chenab—to Pakistan and those of the eastern rivers—the Ravi, Beas, and Sutlej—to India. Nehru government played a vital role in this treaty. The treaty was not only about sharing of water but also about maintaining friendship with Pakistan. The treaty survived even after the death of Nehru.

5.5.2. Indira Gandhi

The Indo-Pak War of 1971 brought the relations between the two countries to a breaking point. The 1972 Simla Agreement restored mutual relations. The 1973 Delhi Agreement resolved the issue of repatriation of Prisoners of War (POW) and the problem of returning Bengalis from Pakistan and Bihari Muslims from Bangladesh to Pakistan. When Pakistan attempted to integrate 'Azad Kashmir' (POK) with Pakistan (1975), Indira Gandhi neutralized the nefarious attempt by concluding an accord with Sheikh Abdulla on February 1975, thereby reiterated that Kashmir's accession to India as full and final. Pakistan turned hostile towards India.

5.5.3. Janata Government

Morarji Desai tried his best to improve India's relations with Pakistan. Though Desai and Vajpayee vociferously condemned the foreign policy of the Congress era, they, in power, started talking about improving relations with Pakistan. Official level exchanges between India and Pakistan slowly increased as there was marginally expanded cooperation in the fields of commerce, culture, and sports. On 14 April 1978, India and Pakistan signed a bilateral agreement with regard to the Salal Dam. However, Pakistan persisted in articulating the Kashmir issue. It was also increasingly critical of India's treatment of its Muslim minorities. The Pakistan intelligence agencies subverted Sikhs by supporting separatist leaders. By the time Moratji Desai relinquished charge in August 1979, Indo-Pakistan relations were generally back to square one, linked to abiding controversies, which affected them as a continuum.

5.5.4. Rajiv Gandhi

Rajiv Gandhi represented a new generation that had taken over the Country. He considered sustained peace with neighboring countries a prerequisite for nation-building. So, he pursued the path of peace. When he met General Zia-ul-Haq during 1985, he strived to secure a better and more mature bilateral understanding, friendship, and cooperation between the two countries. He welcomed Benazir Bhutto’s electoral victory in November 1988 and supported her efforts to revive democracy in Pakistan after a gap of 11 years. Rajiv Gandhi snatched the earliest opportunity to have direct contact with Bhutto during the annual SAARC Summit and Islamabad in December 1989. The fourth SAARC Summit held at Islamabad provided the much needed opportunity for both Rajiv and Benazir to deepfreeze the relations between the two countries. As a result of bilateral talks between the heads of India and Pakistan, three amicable agreements had been signed: (1) to prohibit attack on each other's nuclear installations; (2) to encourage mutual cooperation in the areas of arts, culture, archaeology, education, mass media, sports, and people-to-people contact, and (3) to avoid double taxation in respect of bilateral trade. These three historic agreements heralded the revival of Simla spirit and the principle of 'beneficial bilateralism' between India and Pakistan.

5.5.5. Narasimha Rao

The demolition of Babri Masjid on 6 December, 1992 had vitiated the already deteriorating relations between India and Pakistan. Pakistan intensified its anti-India tirade. This hostile attitude reflected at the meetings between Rao and Nawaz Sharif. Pakistan had been busy in rallying the Islamic countries behind it on the issue of Masjid demolition. Though the two prime ministers had agreed at the Harare Commonwealth Summit, to work for a mature political understanding, Pakistan backed military attacked an Indian outpost in the Kargil sector. Pakistan continued to encourage the separatist elements in Kashmir. Since the return to power of Benazir Bhutto in 1993, communications between the two countries broke down. Pakistan insisted the resolution of the Kashmir problem in the light of U.N. Resolutions of 1948–49. The insurgents attacked the Hazratbal Mosque and it was repulsed "without" firing a single shoot. Indo-Pak relations were characterized by political hostility unilateral intransigence and diplomatic deadlock.

5.5.6. United Front Government

Prime Minister I.K. Gujral initiated unilateral action to improve relations with neighbouring countries. The core concept of Gujral Doctrine is that larger neighbour shall give more to neighbours, without reciprocal commitment. Accordingly, Gujral was willing to make unilateral concessions on anything, except the sovereign and secular character of India. When he met Nawaz Sharif in May 1997 at Mali during 9th SAARC Summit, the two leaders were determined to work together to find an amicable solution to all outstanding problems between the two countries, including the Kashmir dispute. They desisted from mentioning Kashmir issue in all their public statements and comments.

Prime Minister I.K. Gujral announced a series of measures to ease Indo-Pakistan relations and promote people-to-people contact between India and Pakistan: (1) Pakistani businessmen coming to India will be issued one-year multiple-entry visa; (2) travel was made easier and friendly for Pakistani pilgrims and tourists; and (3) senior Pakistani citizens were exempted from reporting to the police on arrival in India.

5.5.7. Vajpayee

Indo-Pak relations by nature have been antagonistic and adversarial, essentially confrontationist. It was confounded after Pokhran II nuclear tests in May 1998. Vajpayee–Sharif meeting in September in New York on the sidelines of the U.N. General Assembly session seemed to have broken the ice. Vajpayee's bus ride to Lahore on 10 February 1999 and Lahore Declaration created euphoria of hope. By the end of 1999, cross-border terrorism took a turn for worse when the Indian Airlines plane was hijacked by terrorists. BJP Government's extremely rigid political positions in relation to Pakistan proved to be counterproductive leading to stalemate. Tit-for-tat responses and mutual mistrust complicated Indo-Pak relations. Prime Minister Vajpayee was constrained by compulsion of circumstances to invite General

Pervez Musharraf to India for talks. The talks took place at Agra (July 2001). The Pak General made excellent use of the Agra Summit to publicize his oft-repeated views. The Agra attempt was a fiasco. "July 2001 is likely to go down as the cruelest month as Atal Bihari Vajpayee endured in his foreign policy endeavor". Following terrorist attack on Parliament on 13 December 2001, the BJP-led NDA Government took some tough decisions: (1) India withdrew its High Commissioner from Islamabad and asked Pakistan to recall its Deputy High Commissioner in New Delhi; (2) India refused flights of Pakistan aircrafts over Indian airspace and cancelled its own flights using the Pakistani air space; 3) the Delhi–Lahore bus service and Samjhauta Express train were cancelled; and (4) Indian troops were mobilized in strength along the international border as well as the Line of Control. By the summer of 2002, a warlike situation existed between the two nuclear neighbors.

Prime Minister Vajpayee realized that tit-for-tat emotional response and unilateral brave decisions will not improve bilateral relations. He, therefore, once again extended his hand of friendship to Pakistan during his visit to Kashmir in April 2003. India agreed to exchange High Commissioners, reintroduce Delhi–Lahore bus service, resume over flights, encourage people-to-people contacts by liberalizing visa facilities, and initiate confidence building measures. Pakistan responded by creating difficulties in resumption of over-flights and harping on denial of rights to Kashmir is and so on. Cross-border terrorism did not stop either. At best, Vajpayee's peace initiatives created yet another road-block to be removed perhaps by his successor.

Check Your Progress

15. When was Indus water agreement signed?
16. Which prime minister of India undertook bus journey to Lahore?

5.6. THE UNO AND SAARC

5.6.1. The United Nations Organization

Founder-Member

India is one of the original 51 founder-members of the UNO, who signed the U.N. Charter. The country participated in the historic San Francisco Conference and became a UN member on 30 October 1945. India's foreign policy embodied the essence of the U.N. Charter. The Constitution of India reaffirmed, under Art. 51, and reiterated the salient objectives of the U.N.O.

5.6.2. Role of India

India played a meritorious role in the U.N. Besides being its founder-member, it served as one of the 9 nonpermanent members of the U.N. Security Council from 1950 to 1952. India remained a member of the UN Economic and Social Council for a number of years. She had been actively associated with the working of the Trusteeship Council. With full faith in the U.N.O., Nehru referred the Kashmir problem to the Security Council on 31 December 1947. India was successful in securing organized opposition to the racist regimes like South Africa. In the Korean War crisis of 1950, India was largely

responsible for implementing collective security action to restore peace in the region. Similarly, India's proposal that U.N. troops should accept 38th parallel as the ceasefire line was eventually accepted. India secured Indo-China ceasefire Agreement on 21 July 1954, which act earned international accolades. As Chairman of International Control Commission, India ensured peace in the region. India's stand on the free and United Vietnam was amply vindicated. Indian military contingents served as peace keeping force under the U.N. flag in Congo, Gaza, and Cyprus. India also played a crucial role in securing a peaceful transfer of power in SWAPO in Namibia.

Nehru always defended disarmament. India was against use of nuclear power for military purpose. India signed the 1963 Moscow Partial Test Ban Treaty. As a member of the 18 nation Disarmament Committee, India played a constructive role in securing general consensus in favour of disarmament. India favoured a revision of the U.N. Charter so as to make the organization a common possession of humanity. India never defaulted its dues to the U.N. Many eminent Indians like Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, VR. Sen, M. R. Thakka, and Dr. K. Krishna Rao served the U.N.O. in various capacities with distinction.

Nehru could not imagine a world without the U.N.O. He had the highest regard for this world body. To support it and to promote its objectives was an article of faith for him. He never subscribed to the sadistic and satoric principle of keeping peace by waging war; he was for peace through peaceful means. He considered the international organization as an invaluable instrument for securing, world peace, and security.

During the time Mrs. Indira Gandhi, India has always regarded the UNO as a world forum to voice its views and to oppose discriminatory practices that go against healthy international relations. Addressing the 38th session of the U.N. General Assembly, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, as the chairperson of the Nonaligned Movement, ventilated the views of nonaligned countries, particularly the new International Economic Order, Disarmament, and Indian Ocean as Peace Zone. Similarly, in 1968, she used the UN forum to unequivocally oppose the partial, half-hearted, and discriminatory nonproliferation Treaty. India became a founding member of the UNCTAD and the Group of 77. India initiated the grand idea of the "second UN Development Decade". India was an active participant in the UN Conference on the Law of the Seas. In 1970, Indira Gandhi led the Indian delegation to the 25^{th} Anniversary Session of U.N. General Assembly. Like Nehru, she was pro-active in supporting all UN peace-keeping operations in different parts of the world.

Check Your Progress

17. When did India become a member of the UNO?
18. When did Nehru refer Kashmir issues before the UNO?

5.7. SOUTH ASIAN ASSOCIATION FOR REGIONAL COOPERATION (SAARC)

Bangladesh initiated the proposal for SAARC. The Foreign Secretaries of the seven SAARC countries met for the first time in Colombo in April 1981. In

August, the Committee of the Whole met in Colombo identified five broad areas for regional cooperation. New areas of cooperation were added in the following years.

SAARC was established when its Charter was formally approved on 8 December 1985 by the Heads of State or Government of Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka. Afghanistan became a member of SAARC during the Fourteenth SAARC Summit held in Delhi in April 2007.

SAARC provides a platform for the countries of South Asia to work together in a spirit of friendship, trust, and understanding. It aims to promote the welfare of the peoples of South Asia and to improve their quality of life through accelerated economic growth, social progress, and cultural development in the region.

The first SAARC summit was held in Dacca, Bangladesh. Heads of all seven member countries participated and jointly expressed their willingness to identify areas of culture, trade, commerce, and economy.

The second summit was held in 1986 in Bangalore, with Rajiv Gandhi as the Chairman. In this conference, the member countries upheld the objectives of SAARC. The third summit was held in 1987 in Katmandu. In this summit, the secretariat for SAARC was established in Katmandu. Annual summits are hosted by member countries to ensure cultural cooperation, people-to-people contact, and promote trade and commerce.

In 1991, Prime Minister Narasimha Rao participated in the 6th SAARC summit held at Colombo and proposed that the SAARC nations should form a collective security system on the model of developed nations. He stressed that regional economic cooperation was the only alternative to fulfill the need for an effective safeguard for developing countries. The 7th Summit of the SAARC held in Dhaka, Bangladesh, on 10 and 11 April, 1993 was vitiated by the demolition of Babri Masjid. Local Islamic fundamentalists prevented Rao's presence in the Summit.

The 9th Summit of South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was held at Mali, the capital of Maldives in May 1997. The Summit declared 1997 as the SAARC Year of Participatory Governance. The focus of attention at the Summit was on economic, sociocultural, and technological cooperation. Prime Minister I.K. Gujral proposed many useful policy initiatives. He participated in the multilateral discussions at Mali and his project of subregional cooperation among India, Bangladesh, Bhutan, and Nepal was well received. The highlight of the Summit, from India's point of view, was the bilateral meeting Gujral held with his Pakistan counterpart Nawaz Sharif and Bangladesh Prime Minister Sheikh Hasina Wajed. Gujral was enthusiastic about galvanizing South Asian Preferential Trade Arrangement (SAPTA). "The message behind Gujral's project was that India would be willing to expand trade concessions to make SAPTA a success and if possible to move towards a South Asian Common Market." Effective regional cooperation depends on positive bilateral dialogues to resolve differences and promote development through cooperation.

The 10th South Asian Association of Regional Cooperation (SAARC) was held in 1998 at Colombo, in the background of Pokhran II nuclear tests. Prime Minister Vajpayee and his Pakistan counterpart Nawaz Sharif tried to figure

out in the Summit with their respective regional problems that needed to be resolved. The Colombo Summit provided an opportunity to both leaders to develop cordial relations between the two countries they represented. This was followed by Vajpayee's Delhi–Lahore bus journey, Lahore Declaration, Kargil Conflict, and terrorist attack on Parliament. When Prime Minister Vajpayee attended the 11th SAARC Summit held in early 2002 in Kathmandu, Nepal, he refused to meet his Pakistan Counterpart! Then Vajpayee met Musharraf in January 2004 in Islamabad, on the sidelines of the 12th SAARC Summit. A Declaration by the two leaders on 6 January, 2004 accelerated the peace process between India and Pakistan.

Check Your Progress

19. Which country first made the proposal for the formation of SAARC?
20. Where is the secretariat of SAARC located?
21. When and where was the second SAARC summit held?

5.8. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. Nehru visited USA in 1949.
2. John K. Galbraith was the Ambassador of America.
3. Indira Gandhi undertook her first state visit to the USA.
4. The USA provided fuel to Tarapur power Plant.
5. Ronald Reagan was the President of the USA when Rajiv Gandhi visited.
6. US President Bill Clinton visited India in 2000.
7. Manmohan Singh was the Prime Minister of India and George W. Bush was the President of USA when Civilian Nuclear Cooperation was concluded.
8. Dr. Radhakrishnan was the Indian Ambassador to first meet Stalin.
9. Soviet Union supplied MIG fighter planes, missiles, tanks, submarines, and infantry weapons.
10. Indira Gandhi was the Indian Prime Minister responsible for Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation.
11. India received Cryogenic Technology from Soviet Union.
12. On 8 September 1962, Chinese forces attacked the Thagla ridge of Kashmir.
13. In 1954, India and China signed a treaty in which India recognized China's rights over Tibet and the two countries agreed to be governed in their mutual relations by the principles of Panch Sheel.
14. Former Foreign Minister of Janata Government Atal Behari Vajpayee visited China in 1979.
15. In 1960, the Indus water agreement was signed between India and Pakistan.
16. Vajpayee was the Prime Minister of India who undertook the bus journey to Lahore.
17. In 1945, India became the founder member of UNO.
18. On 31 December 1947, Nehru referred the Kashmir issue before UNO.
19. Bangladesh was the first country that proposed the formation of SAARC.

20. In 1987, secretariat of SAARC was established in Katmandu, the capital of Nepal.
21. In 1986, the second summit was held in Bangalore.

5.9. SUMMARY

- Nehru adopted a policy of remaining equidistant with USA and Soviet Union.
- Nehru established his independent foreign policy and maintained friendship with Super Powers.
- Nehru wanted to maintain cordial relations with the USA without compromising his convictions.
- At the same time, Pakistan intervention considered as a major influencing factor in the Indo-USA relationship.
- In 1962, when China invaded India, the USA condemned Chinese aggression and supported India.
- However, the USA backed Pakistan when Indo-Pak War took place in 1965.
- Indira Gandhi undertook her first state visit to USA to normalize the relations between the two countries.
- However, friendship could not continue for a long time, particularly US support to Pakistan during the second Indo-Pak war 1971 and also was ready to provide weapons to Pakistan.
- During the Janata Period, the relationship was smooth; the Prime Minister of India and President of USA visited each other.
- During the time of Rajiv Gandhi and Narasimha Rao, the relationship with the USA was cordial.
- At the time of Vajpayee, India conducted nuclear underground test (1998), following which USA imposed economic sanctions against India.
- At the same time, the President of USA Clinton visited India (2000). 5 years later Civilian Nuclear Cooperation agreement normalizing relationship between two democratic nations.
- Though Nehru adopted Non-alignment Policy, his relationship with Soviet Union was very much close.
- Soviet Union supported India in crucial times such as Indo-Chinese conflict in 1961, Indo-Pak War in 1965, and the Second Indo-Pak war in 1971.
- Soviet Union always supported India at the international level, particularly in the UN.
- After the disintegration of Soviet Union, the relationship between the two nations continued.
- India was the country that recognized Communist China in 1949 and established close relationship with China.
- During the early 1950s China and India had a cordial relationship and signed the Panchsheel principle for peaceful co-existence.
- However, the Tibet issue created a major setback in Indo-Chinese relationships.

- In 1962, China unilaterally attacked the Indian Territory; Nehru was disappointed and cut off all the diplomatic relationship with China.
- China continuously took an antagonistic attitude; particularly it supported Pakistan in the first and second Indo-Pak wars in 1965 and 1971, respectively.
- Over time, both the countries took valuable efforts to normalize the relationship with the two nations.
- However, North Eastern boundary questions and China's stand on the Kashmir issue are major obstacles between the two nations.
- In 1947, India was partitioned and a new nation Pakistan was born.
- In 1965 and 1971 India and Pakistan were engaged in two wars.
- After that Simla agreement and other diplomatic effort ensured temporary peace.
- In 1999, the Kargil attack and the 2001 parliamentary attacks proved to be major setbacks.
- Cross-border terrorism is considered as an important factor in India–Pakistan relationship.
- India is one of the founder members of UNO and works with UNO for international peace.
- SAARC was established in 1985, as proposed by Bangladesh.

5.10. KEY WORDS

Cold War: The Cold War was a period of geopolitical tension between the Soviet Union with its satellite states, and the United States with its allies after World War II.
NATO: The North Atlantic Treaty Organization, also called the North Atlantic Alliance, is an intergovernmental military alliance between twenty-nine North American and European countries. The organization implements the North Atlantic Treaty that was signed on 4 April 1949.
SEATO: The Southeast Asia Treaty Organization was an international organization for collective defence in Southeast Asia created by the Southeast Asia Collective Defense Treaty, or Manila Pact, signed in September 1954 in Manila, Philippines.
CENTO: The Central Treaty Organization, originally known as the Baghdad Pact or the Middle East Treaty Organization, was a military alliance of the Cold War. It was formed by Iran, Iraq, Pakistan, Turkey, and the United Kingdom.
Warsaw Pact: The Warsaw Pact, formally known as the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, was a collective defence treaty signed in Warsaw, Poland, between the Soviet Union and seven other Eastern Bloc socialist republics of Central and Eastern Europe in May 1955, during the Cold War.
Capitalism: Capitalism is an economic system based on the private ownership of the means of production and their operation for profit. USA promoted this ideology during the Cold War period.
Communism: Communism is a philosophical, social, political, and economic ideology and movement whose ultimate goal is the establishment of a

communist society, which is a socioeconomic order structured upon the ideas of common ownership of the means of production and the absence of social classes, money, and the state. Russia followed this ideology during 1917–1990.

CTBT: The Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty is a multilateral treaty that bans all nuclear explosions, for both civilian and military purposes, in all environments.

NPT: The Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons, commonly known as the Nonproliferation Treaty, or NPT, is an international treaty whose objective is to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology and to promote cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

People's Republic of China: It was formed in 1949 after the communist revolt led by Mao Zedong. The entire Chinese region except Taiwan comes under the PRC. After this, China was eliminated from the UNO. After 20 years in 1972, it became the permanent member of the UN Security Council.

UN Security Council (UNSC): It is one of the six principal organs of the United Nations (UN), charged with ensuring international peace and security, accepting new members to the United Nations, and approving any changes to its charter. Its powers include the establishment of peacekeeping operations and international sanctions as well as the authorization of military actions through resolutions. It is the only body of the United Nations with the authority to issue binding resolutions to member states. The council held its first session on 17 January 1946.

Dalai Lama: It is a title given by the Tibetan people for the foremost spiritual leader of the Gelug or "Yellow Hat" school of Tibetan Buddhism, the newest of the classical schools of Tibetan Buddhism. In short, Dalai Lama is a spiritual and political leader of Tibet.

SAPTA: It is an agreement reached on January 6, 2004, at the 12th SAARC summit in Islamabad, Pakistan. It created a free trade area of 1.6 billion people in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan, and Sri Lanka to reduce customs duties of all traded goods to zero by the year 2016. The SAFTA agreement came into force on January 1, 2006.

5.11. SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. What was the stand of USA during the Indo-Chinese conflict?
2. Why did the USA support Pakistan during the second Indo-Pak war?
3. Discuss Indo-USA relationship during the time of Rajiv Gandhi.
4. Discuss Russia’s rationale behind delivering the Cryogenic technology to India.
5. Discuss the Indo-Russia relationship during the time of Narasimha Rao
6. Give an account on the Simla Agreement.
7. Discuss the role of Narasimha Rao in SAARC.
8. Write a note on role of India in UNO at the time of Indira Gandhi Period.

Long Answer Questions

1. Write an essay on Nehru's foreign policy towards super powers.
2. Critically analyze Indo-Soviet relationship during the time of Mrs. Indira Gandhi.
3. Estimate Indo-USA relationship at the time of Manmohan Singh.
4. Critically analyze the Indo-China relationship.
5. Write an essay on India's diplomatic efforts to normalize its relationship with Pakistan.
6. Critically analyze India's contributions to UNO.
7. Write an essay on the role of India in SAARC.

5.12. FURTHER READINGS

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BLOCK III: FIVE YEAR PLANS AND NEHRU ERA

Unit-6- PLANNED ECONOMY OF INDIA

Structure

6.0. INTRODUCTION

Soon after Independence, India perceived its own economic policy. Nehruvian government encouraged both public and private sectors to promote country's economic condition. In the early years of 1950s, the government set up the planning commission and first five-year plan to promote agriculture, industries (large and small scale), to eradicate poverty, and so on. India is a country that largely depended on agriculture, and to promote this sector, government encouraged research in this field. Similarly, horticulture and animal husbandry as ancillary parts of agriculture department received priority. The present chapter will address five-year plans, agriculture, horticulture, and animal husbandry.

6.1. OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson, you will be able to understand the following:

- Analyze the planning commission and five-year plans.
- Discuss agriculture and related research.
- Trace horticulture and its development in India.
- Explain animal husbandry and its role in employment.

6.2. PLANNING COMMISSION

As early as the late nineteenth century, early nationalists such as M.G. Ranade and Dadabhai Naoroji assigned a critical role for the Indian states in the economic development of India. This trend of seeking state intervention and not leaving economic forces entirely to the market got further crystallized and acquired widespread acceptance in the interwar period, partly due to the influence of Keynesian economic ideas, the experience of the New Deal in the US and the Soviet experiment.

In 1934, N.R. Sarkar, the president of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI), proclaimed that 'the days of undiluted laissez-faire are gone forever.' Speaking for the leadership of the capitalist class, he added that for a backward country like India, a comprehensive economic development plan covering all aspects of the economy, agriculture, industry, power, banking, finance, and so on should be chalked out and coordinated by a high-powered 'National Planning Commission', which would be essential for India to make a structural break with the past and achieve full growth potential. In 1938, under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru the National Planning Committee (NPC) was set up, which through its deliberations over the next decade drew up a comprehensive plan of development, its various subcommittees producing 29 volumes of recommendations.

The Planning Commission was established in March 1950 in accordance with article 39 of the constitution as part of the directive principles of state policy. The Planning Commission of India was a nonconstitutional and nonstatutory body, responsible to formulate India's five-year plans for social and economic development in India. The prime minister of India was the Ex-officio chairman of the planning commission. The objectives of

Planning had a Socialist orientation and drew sustenance from the Directive Principles of State Policy. Four long-term objectives of the Planners in India were the following:

1. to increase production to the maximum possible extent to achieve a higher level of national and per capita income;
2. to achieve full employment;
3. to reduce inequalities of income and wealth;
4. to set up a socialist society based on equality and justice and to ensure absence of exploitation.

Check Your Progress

1. What does NPC stand for?
2. Who was the chairman of the planning commission?
3. Who was the president of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (1934)?

6.3. FIVE YEAR PLANS

The concept of economic planning in India is derived from the Russia (then USSR). India has launched 12 five-year plans so far. First five-year plan was launched in 1951. Now the present NDA government has stopped the formation of five-year plan. So 12th five-year plan would be called the last five-year plan of India.

6.3.1. First Five-year Plan (1951–56)

After independence, India faced three major problems: rehabilitation of refugees, severe food shortage, and inflationary pressure on economy. Thus, the First Plan accorded the highest priority to agriculture and included irrigation and power projects. About 44.6% of the total outlay of Rs. 2069 crores in the public sector (later raised to Rs. 2378 crores) was allotted for their development. During this period, the work on the Bhakra–Nangal Dam project near Ropar at the head of the Sutlej Himalayan valley was started. The great power and irrigation projects of Damodar valley and Hirakund valley were also started. The total investment on the development of basic industry, which included small-scale industries and mineral development, stood at 173 crores. Even though the initial emphasis was laid on increasing production, the plan did not limit itself to achieving material progress alone, and provided for investment in the development of human resource also. A total expenditure of Rs. 240 crores was made for social services (Rs. 52 crores for education, Rs. 100 crores for medical and public health services, Rs. 49 crores for housing, Rs. 29 crores for backward classes, nearly Rs. 7 crores for labour and labour welfare, and Rs. 4 crores for voluntary social organizations). The plan also aimed at increasing the rate of investment from 5 to 7% of national income.

6.3.2. Second Five-year Plan (1956–57 to 1960–61)

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The Second Plan saw a period of economic stability. The targets fixed for the First Plan were broadly achieved particularly in the field of agricultural development. Henceforth, a forward thrust was planned for development of

heavy and basic industries. Further, the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956 accepted the establishment of a socialist pattern of society as the goal of economic policy. The objectives of Second Plan were the following:

1. an increase of 25% in the national income;

2.rapid industrialization with special emphasis on the development of basic and heavy industries;

3.large expansion of employment opportunities;

4.reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and more even distribution of economic power.

The original total outlay on social services was Rs. 945 crores, but it was later reduced to Rs. 180 crores. The plan laid special emphasis on the development of educational and medical facilities as well as on the advancement of industrial labour, displaced persons, and other underprivileged classes. An allotment of Rs. 120 crores was made for housing schemes, but it was later reduced to Rs. 84 crores during reappraisal. The Plan also visualized additional employment of 7.9 million outside the agricultural sector and about 1.6 million in the agricultural sector. As the main target of the Plan was on industrialization, three great steel plants of over million tons capacity each were established at Rourkela, Bhilai, and Durgapur. Though all the targets of the plan were not achieved, the Second Plan marked another significant milestone in the country's onward march towards prosperity.

6.3.3. Third Five-year Plan (1961–62 to 1965–66)

The third Plan was launched in 1961. This plan was a follow-up of the First and Second five-year plans. It envisaged a development outlay of Rs. 7250 crores in the Public Sector and aimed at increasing the national income by about 30% from Rs. 14,500 crores in 1960–61 to about Rs. 19,000 crores by 1965–66 (at 1960–61 prices) and per capita income by about 17% from Rs. 330 to Rs. 385 during the same period.

Check Your Progress

4. When was the first five-year plan introduced?
5. Which five-year plan focused on the promotion of large-scale industries?

6.4. AGRICULTURE

Agriculture accounts for about 48% of the national income. About 57% of labor force depends upon agriculture. It contributes to 18% of India's exports and provides raw material for many premier industries such as textile, jute, and sugar. Food crops take up about 75% of the total cropped area. Per capita net availability of food grains went up to a level. Four hundred and sixty-seven grams per day in 1999–2000 as compared to that of 395 grams in the early fifties.

6.4.1. Crops and Seasons

Agricultural crops can be broadly divided into food crops and nonfood crops. Food grains consist of cereals and pulses, whereas the nonfood crops comprise a number of cash and plantation crops. One of the important commercial crops of India is sugarcane. India is among the first four world producers of sugar. In the field of cotton, India is the first to evolve a cotton hybrid. It is one of the leading producers of oilseeds, both edible and nonedible. India has 20.8% of the world's area under oilseeds accounting for 10% of the world production. Among the edible oil seeds, groundnut occupies prime place. Among the nonedible oil seeds, castor and linseed occupy important place. Rice and wheat are the main staple crops of India. Jointly these two crops meet 76.7% of the total production. In rice, high-yielding varieties programme was initiated in 1965–66 with the introduction of dwarf rice "Taichung Native" and the release of 'IRB' in 1966. India ranks the second largest wheat producer of the world, after China. Bajra, maize, ragi, and several other small millets constituted the group of coarse cereal. Improvement in yield of coarse cereals has come up with the release of hybrids. Pulses constitute an important group of crop and they play an important role in maintaining soil fertility. India has the largest area in the world under pulse crops sharing about 35% of total area and 27% of production. There are three main crop seasons, namely, kharif, rabi, and summer. The kharif season opens in May and banks heavily on the southwest monsoon. The rabi opens in the middle of October and the northeast monsoon takes over. Major kharif crops are rice, jowar, bajra, maize, cotton, sugarcane, sesame, and groundnut. Major rabi crops are wheat, jowar, barley, gram, linseed, rapeseed, and mustard. Rice, maize, and groundnut are grown in summer season also.

6.4.2. Ministry of Agriculture

Ministry of Agriculture is mainly responsible for the development of agriculture. It comprises of the Department of Agriculture and Cooperation, Department of Agricultural Research and Education, and Department of Animal Husbandry and Dairying. A Technology Mission on Oilseeds and Pulses and the Commission for Agricultural Cost and Prices (CACP) also function under the Department of Agriculture and Cooperation. The Department of Agriculture and Cooperation is responsible for the formulation and implementation of national policies and programs on agriculture. It aimed at achieving rapid agricultural growth through optimum utilization of the country's land, water, soil, and plant resources.

The Agriculture Department undertakes all possible measures to ensure timely and adequate supply of inputs and services such as fertilizers, seeds, pesticides, and agricultural implements, provides agricultural credit, crop insurance, and ensures remunerative returns to the farmers for their agricultural produce. The Department also participates in activities of international organizations for fostering bilateral cooperation in agricultural and allied sectors and for the promotion of exports in agricultural commodities. The Department is organized into 22 Divisions.

Agricultural Research

The Department of Agricultural Research and Education (DARE) was set up in 1973 under the aegis of the Ministry of Agriculture. DARE is responsible for coordinating research and educational activities in agriculture, animal husbandry, and fisheries. It also ensures interdepartmental and interinstitutional collaboration with national and international agencies. Indian' Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR), an autonomous national-level apex body, is the nodal organization of the DARE to develop agricultural technologies, input material, and for the use of science to gain self-sufficiency in food. It promotes science and technology programs in the areas of agricultural research, education, and extension education. ICAR maintains a research and reference library and also provides consultancy service. The state agricultural universities and other technical institutes are created with a view back up with science and technology for increased agricultural production and productivity. The first Agricultural University was established in 1960 at Pantnagar, Uttar Pradesh, followed by several other state agricultural universities. Vocational training is given presently to practicing farmers, farm-women, and rural youth through farmer training centers and 'Krishi Vigyan Kendras'. The primary objective of agricultural extension is dissemination of knowledge and research findings among farmers. There are 261 'Krishi Vigyan Kendras, located in various states, for this purpose. The Institute–Village-Linkage Programme (IVLP) ensures greater scientists–farmer interaction.

Check Your Progress

6. How many departments constitute the Ministry of Agriculture and what are they?
7. When was the Department of Agricultural Research and Education set up?
8. When and where was the first Agriculture University established?

6.5. HORTICULTURE

Horticulture has been defined as the agriculture of plants, mainly for food, materials, comfort, and beauty for decoration. According to the American horticulturist Liberty Hyde Bailey, "Horticulture is the growing of flowers, fruits, and vegetables, and of plants for ornament and fancy".

Plantation and Horticulture broadly covers the development of fruit crops (mango, grape, litchi, apple, guava, pomegranate, banana, and citrus, etc.), plantation crops (tea, coffee, coconut, etc.), ornamental crops (rose, jasmine, gerbera, etc.), spices (cardamom, pepper, clove, cinnamon, etc.), medicinal plants (guggul, pippali, aonla, isabgol, etc.), aromatic plants (citronella, palmarosa, vettiver, mint, etc.), vegetable crops (parwal, kundru, etc.), and other vegetables. It also includes sericulture, apiculture, mushroom cultivation, seed production, and other related activities.

The coconut palm eulogized as "Kalpavriksha" is one of the most valuable gifts of nature to mankind. It serves as a veritable source of food and drink to millions of people in the tropics. The crop is grown mainly all along the coastal parts of the country and to some extent in the interior parts and also in the North Eastern regions. The important coconut growing states in India are Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, Maharashtra,

Goa, Assam, Pondicherry, Lakshadweep, and Andaman and Nicobar Islands. The crop assumes considerable significance in national economy in view of its vast opportunities for employment and income generation. Major share of coconut production is contributed by millions of small and marginal farmers. About 10 million people are dependent on coconut cultivation, processing, and related activities.

6.5.1. Cashew nut

Worldwide, India occupies a premier position contributing about 43% of the cashew nut production. Though India is the largest producer and exporter of cashew nut, the production of raw cashew nut in the country is far below the requirement of the processing sector. The maximum production of raw cashew nut was 5.2 lakh tons obtained from an area of 6.86 1akh ha during 1999–2000. This production is hardly sufficient to meet 50% of the demand of about 825 cashew-processing units in the country. About 14000 ha are under cocoa cultivation in India. Due to sudden crash in the prices in the eighties, there has been a decline in the area. In 1999–2000, 5200 tons of cocoa was produced. Kerala accounts for the bulk of the production. Cocoa is mainly used as a confectionery item. The annual export earnings from cocoa is to the tune Rs. 9 crores. Compared to the global production of 29 1akh MT, the Indian contribution is insignificant.

Spices

India, known as "Land of Spices", is the largest producer, consumer, and exporter of variety of spices in the world. The area covered under various spices in the country is estimated to be 25.17 lakhs/ha with an annual production of 29.10 lakhs tons. More than 90% of the spices produced in the country is used for domestic consumption and the rest exported as raw as well as value-added products. The important spices produced in the country includes black pepper, ginger, turmeric, garlic, chilies, coriander, cumin, fennel, fenugreek, celery, clove, cassia, nutmeg, mace, cardamom, saffron, vanilla, and a group of herbal spices.

Chilies occupy the top position amongst spices, with a share of 30%. The share of spices in the total agricultural export during 1998–99 was about 6% with an export of 2.31 1akh tons earning foreign exchange worth Rs. 1758 crores. The export of spices and spice products during 1999–2000 was 2.09 lakh ton valuing Rs. 1861 crores. Pepper is the leader in export earning with 46% share followed by oil and oleoresins (15%), chilies (13%), and turmeric (6%).

6.5.2. Medicinal and Aromatic Plants

India has been considered as treasure house of valuable medicinal and aromatic plant species. Ministry of Environment and Forests has identified and documented over 9500 plant species based on their importance in the pharmaceutical industry. In the present context of 'back to nature' in healthcare, it is relevant that these valuable plant species are not only preserved but also their cultivation developed in order to meet the entire demand of the domestic industries as also to exploit the bright prospect for

export. Our foreign exchange earning potential from these groups of plants is estimated to be over 3000 million U.S. dollars per annum. Agro techniques have been developed for large number of medicinal plants by the State Agricultural Universities. The Government of India established the Directorate of Areca nut and Spices Development at Calicut, Kerala, as a subordinate office of the Ministry of Agriculture (Department of Agriculture and Cooperation). It started its function from 01-04-1966. The Directorate has the mandate to formulate appropriate development schemes on spices, medicinal plants aromatic plants, and areca nut at the national level. These schemes are implemented through State Governments, Agricultural Universities, ICAR Institutes as well as through Regional Research Laboratories under CSIR and monitored by the Directorate. This Directorate also collects, compiles, and publishes data on area, production, price trends, export, and import of areca nut and spices in addition to keeping in liaison with research and development agencies at the State and Central levels. Through the efforts of Directorate, there has been unprecedented increase in production and quality of these products.

6.6. HORTICULTURAL RESEARCH

After independence, India laid major emphasis on achieving self-sufficiency in food production. Development of high-yielding wheat varieties and high production technologies and their adoption in areas of assured irrigation paved the way towards food security ushering in green revolution in the sixties. It, however, gradually became clear that horticultural crop for which the Indian topography and agrodimates are well-suited is an ideal method of achieving sustainability of small holdings, increasing employment, improving environment, providing an enormous export potential, and above all achieving nutritional security. As a result, diversification to horticultural crops was given due emphasis. The Horticulture Division in the Department of Agriculture and Co-operation was vested with the responsibility of overall development of horticulture. The Division strives to improve the production, productivity, and utilization of horticultural crops, and formulates policies aimed for an accelerated growth of horticulture. It also facilitates the availability of disease-free planting materials and works as facilitator for the transfer of technology to farmers and promotes the use of information technology. It has special plans to promote horticulture in North Eastern region, hills, tribal, and backward areas for improving economic status of people.

Systematic research on fruit, vegetable, and ornamental crops began in 1954 with the initiation of independent institutions and programs. The establishment of the Indian Institute of Horticultural Research at Bangalore and starting of eight All India Coordinated Crop Improvement Projects to cover different horticultural crops was a landmark in the history of horticulture in fourth Five-year Plan (1969–74). Today, the horticultural research in the country is carried out at eight ICAR institutes (with 26 regional stations), 10 National Research Centers (on major crops), and a Project Directorate on Vegetable crops. Research on horticulture is also being undertaken at several multicrops, multidisciplinary Institutes. Departments of Horticulture in 24 Agricultural Universities, one deemed to be University and one full-fledged

University of Horticulture and Forestry, are also engaged in horticultural research. Besides 280 ad hoc schemes supported from Agriculture Produce Cess Fund and a number of foreign-aided projects have also been in operation on specific problems of different horticulture crops. As a result, the country now has a sound research infrastructure in horticulture to meet the growing needs and expectations of the fast developing horticulture industry.

6.6.1. National Horticulture Board (NHB)

National Horticulture Board was set up by the Government of India in 1984 as an autonomous society under the Societies Registration Act 1860 with its headquarters at Gurgaon, Haryana. NHB has a network of 33 regional offices located through the entire length and breadth of the country to promote horticulture in the country. The initiatives of the Board have helped in developing infrastructure for horticultural development.

Research Achievements

Several new crops have been introduced for commercial cultivation. Some of the examples are kiwi fruit in submountain areas of North India, olive in the mid hills of North Western Himalayas, low chilling stone fruits in the North Western plains, oil-palm in coastal states of Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh, gherkin in South and West India, baby corn and sweet corn in certain specific pockets, and broccoli, brussels' sprouts, asparagus, celery, and parsley near the cities. A large number of high yielding varieties have been developed in several horticultural crops: fruits (76), vegetables (160), potato (29), other tuber crops (24), ornamental crops (300), palms (20), spices (51), cashew (33), and betel vine (1). The first seedless variety of mango was developed. Hybrids varieties are developed in brinjal, tomato, chilies, cauliflower, carrot, capsicum, and muskmelon. Self-incompatible lines in cauliflower, gynodioecious lines in cucumber and muskmelon, genetic male sterile lines in tomato, and temperature-tolerant strains of button mushroom have been developed.

Fruits

Horticulture research has resulted in increased production and export. India's share in world fruit production is 8%. It is the second largest producer of fruits after China, with a production of 44.04 million tons of fruits from an area of 3.72 million hectares.

Mango is the most important fruit covering about 35% of area and accounting of 22% total production of total fruits in the country, which is the highest in the world with India's share of about 54%. Major mango growing states are Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Andhra Pradesh, Orissa, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Karnataka, Kerala, and Tamil Nadu. The main varieties of mango grown in the country are alphanso, dashehari, langra, fajli, chausa, totapuri, and neelum.

Banana comes next in rank occupying about 13% of the total area and accounting for about 34.2% of the total production of fruits. India ranks the first in worldwide banana production. While Tamil Nadu leads with a share of 19.00%, Maharashtra has highest productivity of 58.60 metric tons against India's average of 32.50 metric tons per ha. The main varieties of banana are dwarf Cavendish, bhusaval keli, basrai, poovan, harichhal, nendran, and safed

velchi. Citrus fruits rank 3rd in area and production accounting for about 12 and 10.4% of the total area and production, respectively. Lime, sweet oranges, and mandarin cover bulk of the area under these fruits and are grown mainly in Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, North Eastern States, Punjab, Orissa, and Madhya Pradesh.

Guava is the fourthmost widely grown fruit crop in India. Grapes occupies fifth position amongst fruit crops with a production of 1.08 MT from an area of 0.04 million ha. The major varieties of grapes grown in India are thomson seedless, sonaka, anab-e-shahi, perlette, banglore blue, pusa seedless, and beauty seedless. Maharashtra occupies the first position with a production of 0.68 MT of grapes, followed by Karnataka. The other states growing grapes are Punjab, Andhra Pradesh, and Tamil Nadu. The other major fruits grown in the country are apple, litchi, papaya, pineapple, pomegranate, and sapota.

6.6.2. Vegetables

In vegetable production, India is next only to China with an annual production of 87.53 million tons from 5.86 million hectares with a share of 14.4% to the world production. More than 40 kinds of vegetables belonging to different groups, namely cucurbits, cole crops, solanaceous, root, and leafy vegetables are grown in different agro-climatic situations of the country. Except for a few, namely brinjal, colocasia, cucumber, ridge gourd, sponge gourd, and pointed gourd, most of the other vegetables have been introduced from abroad. Potato is the most widely grown vegetable crop in India with a share of 25.7%. The area under potato cultivation is 1.28 million ha with a total production of 22.49 MT. Uttar Pradesh is the leading potato growing state. Tomato occupies the second position amongst the vegetable crops in terms of production. The total production of tomato in India in 1998–99 was 8.27 MT from an area of 0.46 M. ha. Andhra Pradesh is the largest grower of tomato with a production of 2.05 MT. The other main tomato-growing states are Bihar, Karnataka, Maharashtra, and Orissa. Brinjal occupies the third position amongst vegetable crops. The production of brinjal in the year 1998–99 was 7.88 MT from an area 0.49 M.ha. West Bengal is the largest producer of brinjal followed by Maharashtra and Bihar. Cabbage is the fourth most widely grown vegetable crop of our country. West Bengal is the largest grower of the cabbage. Orissa and Bihar occupies second and third positions, respectively. The other important vegetable crops grown in the country are onion, chilies, peas, beans, okra, cauliflower, pumpkin, bottle gourd, cucumber, watermelon, palak, methi, carrot, and radish.

Check Your Progress

9. What is meant by horticulture?
10. What are the important spices produced by India?
11. Where is the Indian Institute of Horticultural Research located?
12. When and where was the National Horticulture Board established?

6.7. ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Animal Husbandry in India is intertwined with agriculture. Its contribution is about 25% of India's total agriculture output. Livestock products play a pivotal role in improving the livelihood of a large number of rural population by providing food products and by-products. Animal Husbandry provides self-employment to millions; 71% of women in rural areas engaged in livestock farming, and 75 million women and 15 million men are engaged in dairying. Animal feed industries, leather industries, and trade of livestock products also give employment opportunities. India has large livestock resources comprising of a variety of meat animals such as cattle, buffaloes, sheep, goat, pigs, and poultry. According to the 1992 livestock census, there are 20.5 crore cattle and 8.4 crore buffaloes, comprising about 15% and 57% of the world cattle and buffalo population, respectively. Apart from these, the poultry population was 307.1 million. The country is number one in buffalo and goat population in the world, and ranks third in the world in its number of camels, after Sudan and Somalia. However, animal protein consumption per head per day in India is 9.5 grams as compared to the world average of 24.8 grams. Effective utilization of the livestock resources is essential for sustainable animal production.

6.7.1. Central Cattle Development Organizations

These organizations include the 7 Central Cattle Breeding Farms, the Central Frozen Semen Production and Training Institute, Hessarghatta, and the 4 Central Herd Registration Units, which have been established by the Department in different regions of the country for production of genetically superior breed of bull calves, good quality frozen semen, and identification of location of superior germless of cattle and buffaloes to meet the requirement of bulls and frozen semen doses in different parts of the country.
Central Cattle Breeding Farm (CCBF)
The Central Cattle Breeding Farms are located at Suratgarh (Rajasthan), Chiplima and Sunabeda (Orissa), Dhamrod (Gujarat), Hessarghatta (Karnataka), Alamadhi (Tamil Nadu), and Andeshnagar (U.P). They are maintaining bull mothers of important cattle and buffalo breeds which include Tharparkar, Red Sindhi, Jersey, Holstein-Friesian, Crossbreed (HF x Tharparkar, Jersey x Red Sindhi), Surti, and Murrah. The farms produce bull calves from these bull mothers and supply high pedigree bull calves and bulls to the State Governments and other breeding organizations for production of frozen semen.

6.7.2. Central Frozen Semen Production and Training Institute

6.7.2.1. Hessarghatta

This is a premier Institute that produces frozen semen doses of indigenous exotic and crossbreed cattle bulls and Murrah buffalo bulls for use in artificial insemination. The institute also provides training in frozen semen technology to technical officers of the State Governments and acts as a center for testing

the indigenously manufactured frozen semen. The Institute has started conducting training programs in Frozen Semen Processing technology (3 weeks), Laboratory techniques for evaluation and quality control of frozen semen (2 weeks), and Andrological aspects of bull breeding soundness (3 weeks).

6.7.3. National Project for Cattle and Buffalo Breeding (NPCBB)

A National Project for Cattle and Buffalo breeding as a Centrally Sponsored Scheme with allocation of Rs. 402 crores for the first phase has been launched in the country with effect from October 2000. This Project envisages 100% grant-in-aid for various cattle and buffalo breeding activities and to ensure sustain ability of operations as well as quality in breeding inputs and services.

6.7.3.1. Sheep Development Programs

Sheep development was undertaken as early as the early 19th century during the East India Company rule, which imported exotic breeds for crossbreeding with the indigenous breeds. Subsequently, with the establishment of the Imperial (now Indian) Council of Agricultural Research, research and development programs were taken up on a regional basis.

Indian Council of Agricultural Research (ICAR) and its constituent institutes undertook research on sheep and wool. The Central Sheep and Wool Research Institute (CSWRI), Avikanagar (Rajasthan); the Central Institute for Research on Goats (CIRG), Makhdoom (Uttar Pradesh); and to some extent, the Indian Veterinary Research Institute (IVRI), Izatnagar (Uttar Pradesh) and the National Dairy Research Institute (NDRI), Kamal (Haryana) are the important research organizations for cattle development. State agricultural universities also carry responsibility in this field. The ICAR has also organized research on sheep and goat production through an All-India Coordinated Research Project (AICRP) involving a number of central and state organizations. These projects cover sheep-breeding for fine wool, for mutton, and for superior carpet-wool, and goat-breeding for Chevon, for milk, and for mohair, and pashmina.

6.7.3.2. Breeding Strategy

The breeding strategy is different for different regions of the country. In the north temperate and northwestern regions, it involves breeding for apparel wool through crossbreeding indigenous breeds with exotic fine-wool breeds. For the northwestern and central peninsular regions and Bihar, selection among better carpet-wool breeds and crossing extremely coarse and hairy indigenous breeds with exotic fine-wool and dual-purpose breeds to improve carpet-wool production, quality, and mutton production has been recommended. For improving mutton production in the southern peninsular region, the strategy contemplates selection within better indigenous breeds such as Nellore and Mandya, and upgrading of inferior breeds with these two breeds.

6.7.3.3. Goats

India stands first in goat population. Goats are cheap to maintain and called poor man's cow. Goat milk is wholesome and nourishing and is considered especially suitable for infants and invalids. Crossbreeding indigenous goats with exotic dairy goats (Alpine and Saanen) resulted in improved milk production and reproductive performance, but with a slight loss in prolificacy. Some work on improving meat production by crossing small and large indigenous breeds is in progress, but the results so far available show only limited promise. Gaddi (also known as White Himalayan) is an important goat breed. Another variety, 'Chigu' is usually white, mixed with grayish red.

6.7.3.4. Piggery Development

India had 12.8 million pigs, as per 1992 livestock census. The pig is one of the most efficient foods converting animals among domesticated livestock and can play an important role in improving the socioeconomic status of the weaker sections of the society. Pig farming has become a commercial venture with the adoption of improved pig rearing practices. Exotic breeds of pigs like Large white Yorkshire, Hampshire, Berkshire, and Saddleback are maintained in the 200 pig-breeding farms of State Governments, Agricultural Universities, and Krishi Vigyan Kendra, a Centrally Sponsored Scheme, if Assistance to States for Intregrated Piggery Development" has been implemented since 1991–92. During 2000–2001, an amount of Rs. 2.07 crores was released for the development of piggery, while during 2001–2002, an amount of Rs. 1.22 crores has been released till December, 2001. To overcome the problem of high-quality breeding stock, exotic breeds of 280 pigs of Large white, Landrace, and Hampshire were imported by this department for state government pig farms, from USA during 1999–2000, National Ram, Buck Production, and Rabbit Development Programme. Under this ongoing scheme, 50% central assistance is provided to State Governments for strengthening sheep, goat, and rabbit farms and state wool boards to improve genetic potential of small ruminants. Efforts under this scheme are concentrated on organization of integrated sheep, goat, and rabbit development activities in States, and the promotion of cooperative and voluntary efforts for the rapid development of the sector.

6.7.3.5. Development of Equines and Pack Animals

Despite the increasing pace of mechanization of transport, vast areas of the country still depend on animals for transport. Punjab, Haryana, Gujarat, and Rajasthan still use a sizeable number of camels, horses, ponies, and donkeys for transport. Mules and ponies are still used in hilly areas for carriage of goods. Our country is well-known for indigenous breeds of horses like Kathiawari, Marwari, Chaumurti, Manipuri, and Zanskari, etc., whose number over the past few decades have been dwindling. Camels play a vital role in transportation in remote desert areas. Yet, the commercial traits of the camel still remain to be fully exploited. An Equine Development Board, which is an apex advisory body, has been recommending various useful measures for the

development of this subsector. Based on its recommendations, 170 Stud Breeding through breed horses has been registered with the Department of Animal Husbandry and Dairying.

6.7.3.6. Poultry Development

The poultry industry has shown significant growth with an annual growth rate of 10% in egg production and 15–20% in broiler production. As a result, India ranks fifth in egg production and 19th in broiler production in the world. During the past three decades, poultry industry has evolved from backyard ventures to a full-fledged commercial agro-industrial business mainly due to comprehensive research and development initiated by the Government and subsequently taken up by the organized private sectors. .

Central Poultry Development Organizations

During the Tenth Plan, it has been decided to club all the existing 13 Central Poultry Development Organizations region-wise into 4 Centers so as to cover the poultry developmental activities in a single-window system. These Centers are now being used for diversification production program as one of the thrust areas by taking up duck, turkey, Japanese quail, and Guinea fowl, etc. They are taking up the development of least cost feed formulation based on locally available ingredients mainly in collaboration with ICAR.

6.7.3.7. Conservation of Threatened Breeds

The population of some of the pure breed small ruminants, equines, pigs, and pack animals has come down considerably and such breeds has come to the category of threatened breeds in the country. The farms or the farmers unit in their respective breeding tract are to be established with 100% central assistance for breeds of these animals wherein their population is less than 10,000, with active participation of State Governments and NGOs.

A new centrally sponsored scheme for conservation of such threatened breeds has been started during Tenth Five-year Plan with a budget outlay of Rs. 1,500 lakhs and a sum of Rs. 295.50 lakhs has been released to the States of Gujarat, Karnataka, Punjab, Rajasthan, and Tripura during 2002–03 for scheme implementation.

6.7.3.8. Scheme for Meat and Meat Products

Under this ongoing scheme, central assistance is provided to meat and meat products. There are 2702 registered slaughter houses operating in the country. Most of these houses are run and maintained by local municipal bodies. As most of these slaughter houses have poor facilities for maintaining proper hygiene and sanitation, it is necessary to either improve existing slaughter houses or construct new ones to assist in providing safe and wholesome meat, gainfully utilize animal by-products, and prevent environmental pollution and cruelty to animals.

6.7.3.9. Fodder Development

The nutritive value of feed and fodder has a significant bearing on productivity of livestock. Due to increasing pressure on land for growing food grains, oil seeds, and pulses, adequate attention has not been given to the production of fodder crops. The gap between the demand and supply of fodder is increasing. Working Group on Animal Husbandry and Dairying for 10th Five-year Plan of Planning Commission reports that the available fodder can meet the demand of only 46.7% of livestock. It stressed the need to develop fodder banks in vulnerable areas and strategies for improving the efficiencies of fodder supplies from one region to the other region of the country. The department has two schemes viz. 1) Central Fodder Development Organization and 2) Centrally Sponsored Scheme.

Check Your Progress

13. Where is the Central Frozen Semen Production and Training Institute located?
14. Where is the Central Sheep and Wool Research Institute located?

6.8. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. Under the leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru, the greatest champion of planned economic development for India, the National Planning Committee (NPC) was set up in 1938.
2. Prime minister of India is the Ex-officio chairman of the planning commission.
3. N.R. Sarkar was the president of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) in 1934.
4. The first five-year plan was introduced in 1951 (1951–1956).
5. Second five-year plan focused on the promotion of large-scale industries.
6. Ministry of Agriculture comprises of three departments viz. Department of Agriculture and Cooperation, Department of Agricultural Research and Education, and Department of Animal Husbandry and Dairying.
7. The Department of Agricultural Research and Education (DARE) was set up in 1973 under the Ministry of Agriculture.
8. The first Agricultural University was established in 1960 at Pantnagar, Uttar Pradesh.
9. Horticulture has been defined as the agriculture of plants, mainly for food, materials, comfort, and beauty for decoration.
10. The important spices produced in the country include black pepper, ginger, turmeric, garlic, chilies, coriander, cumin, fennel, fenugreek, celery, clove, cassia, nutmeg, mace, cardamom, saffron, vanilla, and a group of herbal spices.
11. The establishment of the Indian Institute of Horticultural Research at Bangalore and starting of eight All India Coordinated Crop Improvement Projects to cover different horticultural crops was a

landmark in the history of horticulture in the fourth Five-year Plan (1969–74).

12. National Horticulture Board was set up by the Government of India in 1984 as an autonomous society under the Societies Registration Act 1860 with its headquarters at Gurgaon, Haryana.
13. The Central Frozen Semen Production and Training Institute is located at Hessarghatta, Karnataka.
14. The Central Sheep and Wool Research Institute (CSWRI) is situated in Avikanagar, Rajasthan.

6.9. SUMMARY

- After 1947, India had its own planned economy.
- The Planning Commission was set up in 1950.
- Prime minister of India was the Ex-officio chairman of the planning commission.
- Planning commission was responsible for the five-year plans starting from 1951.
- The first and the second five-year plans focused on agriculture including irrigation, power projects, and heavy level industries encouraged by the second five-year plan.
- Ministry of Agriculture is mainly responsible for the development of agriculture in India.
- The Department of Agricultural Research and Education (DARE) was set up in 1973 under the Ministry of Agriculture and was responsible for coordinating research and educational activities in agriculture, animal husbandry, and fisheries.
- Agriculture had attained top priority in postindependent India particularly sugarcane, oilseeds, cotton, edible, and so on.
- Horticulture was accorded a high priority in the post-independent India predominantly Coconut, Cashew nut, Spices, fruits, Vegetables, and so on.
- The Horticulture Department implements programs for improving the production, productivity, and utilization of horticultural crops and formulates policies aimed for accelerated growth of horticulture.
- Animal Husbandry provides self-employment to millions of Indian people.
- Animal feed industries, leather industries, and trade of livestock products also gave employment opportunities.
- India has large livestock resources comprising of a variety of meat animals such as cattle, buffaloes, sheep, goat, pigs, and poultry.

6.10. KEY WORDS

Laissez-faire: Laissez-faire is an economic system in which transactions between private parties are without any form of government intervention such as regulation, privileges, tariffs and subsidies. Proponents of laissez-faire argue for a complete separation of government from the economic sector.

Animal Husbandry: Animal husbandry is the branch of agriculture concerned with animals that are raised for meat, fibre, milk, eggs, or other products. It includes day-to-day care, selective breeding, and the raising of livestock.
Dairy: A dairy is a business enterprise established for the harvesting or processing of animal milk— mostly from cows or goats, but also from buffaloes, sheep, horses, or camels—for human consumption.
Frozen Semen: Frozen semen is a method of preserving semen for future artificial insemination, even after the death of the donor.
Breed: A breed is a specific group of domestic animals having homogeneous appearance, homogeneous behavior, and/or other characteristics that distinguish it from other organisms of the same species.
Poultry: Poultry refers to domesticated birds kept by humans for their eggs, meat, or feathers.
Pig farming—It is the raising and breeding of domestic pigs as livestock and is a branch of animal husbandry. Pigs are farmed principally for food and skins.

6.11. SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. Write a note on Planning Commission.
2. Discuss the third five-year plan.
3. Analyze the contribution of the Ministry of Agriculture to promote agriculture.
4. Examine horticulture research.
5. Given an account on Central Cattle Development Organizations.

Long Answer Questions

6. Critically analyze the role of the Planning Commission and five-year plans in Indian Economy.
7. Write an essay on the agriculture policy of post-independent India.
8. Discuss the horticulture development in contemporary India.
9. Estimate the role of animal husbandry in agriculture sector.

6.12. FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT-7-DAIRY DEVELOPMENT

Structure

7.0. INTRODUCTION

Dairy sector has been instrumental in bringing socioeconomic transformation in Villages. A symbiotic relationship exists between agriculture and livestock farming**.** Rural development is the process of improving the quality of life and economic well-being of people living in rural areas, often relatively isolated and sparsely populated areas. Rural development has traditionally centered on the exploitation of land-intensive natural resources such as agriculture and forestry. Another important means to strengthen rural infrastructure is

Panchayat Raj. Local bodies played a vital role in strengthening rural administration and its development. With this background, the present chapter highlights rural developments, Dairy Development, and Panchayat Raj.

7.1. OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson, you will be able to

- trace the history of dairy development and government contributions through various programmes for the development of milk products,
- analyze rural developments, particularly agriculture reforms and community developments,
- trace rural developments under the plan period,
- assess Panchayat Raj and its functions.

7.2. DAIRY DEVELOPMENT

India has the largest livestock population in the world, accounting for 57% of the buffaloes and 14% of the world's cattle population, most of which are milch cows and milch buffaloes. India's dairy industry is considered as one of the most successful development programmes in the postindependence period.
Milk processing in India is around 35%, of which the organized dairy industry account for 13% of the milk produced, while the rest of the milk is either consumed at farm level, or sold as fresh, nonpasteurized milk through unorganized channels.
Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and Tamil Nadu are the milk surplus states in India. The manufacturing of milk products is obviously high in these milk-surplus States. Exports of dairy products have been growing at the rate of 25% per annum in the terms of quantity and 28% in terms of value. Significant investment opportunities exist for the manufacturing of value-added milk products like milk powder, packaged milk, butter, ghee, cheese, and ready-to-drink milk products.

7.2.1. Dairy Development in Independence India

After independence, the Government of India started the Greater Bombay Milk Scheme to meet the growing milk demands of Bombay city. At the initial stage, it was totally dependent on Polson Dairy, Gujarat, for milk requirement. Later on Aarey Milk colony was established in Bombay to provide milk to the scheme. The first large-scale and systematic cooperative dairy unit was established in 1948 at Anand (Gujarat) named as District Cooperative Milk Producers Union of Anand, which later become the world famous as the AMUL (Anand Milk Union Ltd.). In 1950, Greater Calcutta Milk scheme was established. The Indian dairy industry has acquired a substantial growth during the five-year plans.

7.2.2. Cattle and Dairy development programme

The Government of India implemented cattle development programme to improve the cattle breeds in India as well as four schemes for the development of dairy sector during 2007–08 like Intensive Dairy Development Programme, Strengthening Infrastructure for Quality and Clean Milk Production, Assistance to Cooperative, and Dairy/Poultry Venture Capital Fund.

Cattle Development

Efforts were made to improve the cattle breeds in India such as Key Village Scheme, Intensive Cattle development Programme, Gosadan, All India Co-ordinated Research Project on Cattle and Buffaloes, and Bovine Development Programme, etc. The work done and achievement of some of these programmes during five-year plan and Operation Flood Programme are discussed below.

7.2.3. Key Village Scheme

This scheme was commissioned in 1951 and acted as the main plank for cattle development in the first five-year plan. The Key Village Scheme emphasized on important aspects of cattle development like controlled breeding, improved feeding, disease control, better management, and adoption of improved animal husbandry practices through proper extension methods.

Intensive Cattle Development Projects

The ICDP was formulated during second five-year plan as a part of special development programme. The main object of the project was to improve the bovine breeds for higher milk production. The projects were located in the breeding tracts of indigenous breeds of cattle and buffaloes and also in the milk sheds of large dairy projects with a view to enable the dairy unions to collect and process milk. The ICDP was one of the most determined efforts made to increase milk production and productivity in cows and buffaloes and represented an effective method for cattle and dairy development.

7.2.4. Bovine Development Programme

Most of the state Governments have set up their own cattle breeding farms to develop improved herds of indigenous and crossbred. There are some programmes for progeny testing, registration of breeds, and recording of milk production at village level in several breeding tracts. Development of animal sciences, research, drug and vaccination production, disease control, and training of veterinarian has been stepped up through the five-year plans all over the country.

7.2.5. Dairy Development

The Indian Dairy Industry has acquired a substantial growth starting from the eighth five-year plan. India's milk output has not only placed the industry first in the world but also represents sustained growth in the availability of milk and milk products.

7.2.5.1. Intensive Dairy Development Programme

During the Eighth Plan period, Intensive Dairy Development Programme was launched. In the Eleventh Plan, the programme was continued with an outlay of Rs. 29.99 crores for 2008–09. Under this scheme, 84 projects with an outlay of Rs. 480.05 crores were sanctioned in 25 States and one UT in India. The programmes covered 206 districts and benefited about 15.07 lakh farm families and have organized about 24,808 village-level Dairy Cooperative Societies till 31st March, 2008, for which Rs. 330.35 crores have been released to State Government.

7.2.5.2. Strengthening Infrastructure for Quality and Clean Milk Production

The scheme was commissioned in October 2003. The main objective of the scheme is improving the quality of raw milk produced at the village level in the country. Under this scheme, 100% grant is provided to District Cooperative Milk Union and State Cooperative Milk Federation through the State Governments.

7.2.6. First Five-year Plan (1951–1956)

In the first five-year plan, dairy development programme was initiated in a relatively small way. The first plan gives exclusive attention on the following: (1) Controlled breeding, (2) Disease control, (3) Goushala development, and (4) Key village scheme. In this plan, Rs. 220 Million were allotted for dairy development, with 141.9 Million going for Animal Husbandry and 78.1 Million for Dairying. During this plan period the programme focused on the supply of milk to the large cities under hygienic conditions. In this plan period, 146 Key Village Blocks were established with Artificial Insemination Centers, 650 Veterinary Hospitals, and 25 Gosadans also took place. The total milk output in the country was 18 Million MT during this plan. In 1952, Aarey Milk Colony was established in Bombay and 15,000 commercial buffaloes removed from inside city to Aarey Milk Colony.

7.2.7. Second Five-year Plan (1956–1961)

The second five-year plan emphasizes on certain objectives relating to production, marketing, and consumption of milk. During this plan, major attention was given on quality control, paying remunerative price to milk producer, and a reasonable price to consumer. In this plan, Rs. 575 Million were allotted to dairy development comprising Rs. 385 Million for Animal Husbandry and Rs. 190 million for Dairying. During this plan period, regional Dairy research Stations were started at Bombay and Calcutta, in addition to the existing one at Bangalore. Bombay milk scheme received rail and road milk tankers from New Zealand during this plan period for transportation of milk between Anand and Bombay. During this plan period, many states started their own dairy development departments. The dairy development programme

envisaged the establishment of 66 fluid milk handling plants, 6 milk product factories, and 34 dairy factories at Anand, expansion of existing 114 blocks with 670 Artificial Insemination centres, new Gosadans, 248 Goushalas, 1,900 Veterinary Hospitals, and promoting 3 private entrepreneurs (Glaxo, UniLever, and Nestle) for establishing milk product factories. By 1959, there were 2,257 Cooperative Milk Supply Societies and 77 Milk Supply Unions in the country with a membership of 21,113, which owned funds of Rs. 183 lakhs and sold milk and milk products worth Rs. 11.32 Crores. By the end of the plan period, milk production increased to 20.36 Million Tonnes per year.

7.2.8. Third Five-year Plan (1961–1966)

In the third five-year plan, Rs. 907.5 Million were allotted for Animal Husbandry and Dairying, with a share of Rs. 547 million for Animal Husbandry and Rs. 360.5 for Dairying. The actual amount spent on animal husbandry and dairying was Rs. 434 Million and Rs. 336 Million, respectively. During this plan, the setting up of 55 fluid milk projects for cities with a population of 1,00,000, 8 rural creameries, 6 milk product factories, 2 cheese factories, and 4 cattle feed factories were set up. A modern feed mill was set up at Anand (Gujarat) with a gift from the United Kingdom. The dairy development policy in this plan was outlined. The supply and collection of milk were undertaken by a network of producer’s cooperatives in the villages. The processing and distribution of milk and milk products were also organized on cooperative line.

In this plan period, Madras Milk Supply Scheme was implemented and 23 liquid plants and 27 pilot milk schemes were brought into operation, and the daily average output of milk in the organized sector was 13 lakh litres. During this plan, Government of India established the National Dairy Development Board (NDDB) at Anand (Gujarat) in 1965. It is a programme launching body and provides technical service on a nonprofit basis for which the implementing agencies require in the field of dairying.

Check Your Progress

1. Name the States that produce surplus milk in India
2. Where and when was the first large-scale and systematic cooperative dairy unit established?
3. Where were the regional dairy research Stations started during the second five-year plan?
4. Where did the Government of India establish the National Dairy Development Board?

7.3. RURAL DEVELOPMENT

Nehru wanted to change the face of rural India, to improve the quality of life of the villagers, and to develop the economy of the countryside. He truly laid the foundation of the Social Welfare State in the villages. He set a shining example to follow and emulate the highly imaginative and innovative programmes like community development, national extension service, panchayat raj, cooperative farming, and land reforms, etc. Nehru strove to

create national awareness about the imperative need for rural revolution and to enlist people's participation in the village-oriented schemes. The government programmes started with people's participation, and efforts were made to change it into people's programme with government participation. More than schemes, the rural community development programme was indeed a people's movement. It was a grandiose rural reform scheme aimed to generate growth from the grass roots. For the first time, the villagers were vested with "a sense of partnership and purpose".

7.3.1. The Community Development Programme

The Community Development Programme was inaugurated on October 2, 1952. Fifty-five community projects were launched. The programme launched in 1952 was extended to wider areas at the end of the First Five-year Plan. Nearly one out of every three villages in India was brought within the orbit of this programme.

The Planning Commission defined the Community Development Programme thus: “Community development is an attempt to bring about a social and economic transformation of village life through the efforts of the people themselves.”

The projects are of vital importance, according to Pandit Nehru, “not so much for the material achievements that they would bring about, but much more so, because they seem to build up the community and the individual and to make the latter the builder of his own village centers and of India in the larger sense.”

7.3.2. National extension service

The National Extension Service (NES) was launched in October 1953 with a less number of personnel and more modest financial provision, to drive self-help efforts in the development works.

The People in the entire project areas of community development programme responded enthusiastically and the need for a rapid expansion of the programme to other parts of the country was urgently felt limited resources; however, it did not permit a rapid expansion of the CD projects. A year later, in 1953, the National Extension Service programme was launched to cover a wider area at less cost and more people's participation. Each NES block had about 100 villages and about 65 thousand population officer (BDO) and a number of extension officers (EDs). For the NES blocks, funds were drastically reduced and the number of multipurpose village level workers was brought down to 10. NES was thought of as the agency and CD as the method to bring about socioeconomic transformation of the rural people.

It was a major development in the sphere of rural reconstruction in India, since the basic idea underlying both the CD and NES Programmes was the same. The two were integrated under one agency at the centre as well as in the state. Both the programmes were complementary and ran concurrently. NES was viewed as the permanent set up for extension in the country and it was intended to cover the entire country with an organization for agriculture and rural development with a period of about 10 years.

Cooperative Farming

Cooperative farming refers to an organization in which each member-farmer remains the owner of his land individually. But farming is done jointly. Profit is distributed among the member-farmers in the ratio of land owned by them. Wages distributed among the member-farmers according to number of days they worked.

7.3.3. First Five-year Plan (1951–56)

Apart from Cooperative farming, it also recommended 'Cooperative Village Management' as a more comprehensive solution for rural development. It encouraged small and middle farmers to form cooperative farming societies and if majority of farmers agreed to start cooperative farming, then decision will be binding on the entire village. But it did not talk about giving enforcement powers to States. It resulted in 2000 cooperative farming societies that were formed during the First Plan period.

7.3.4. Second Five-year Plan (1956–61)

Indian delegations were sent to China to study their cooperative farming, to recommend this system to increase food grain production, and to develop cooperative farming as soon as possible. The target was to set up at least one cooperative farm in every National Extension Block, or about 5,000 for the whole country and hoped to convert substantial proportion of Indian farms into cooperative farming by 10 years. During Nagpur resolution of Congress, 1959, Cooperative farming was proposed as the future agrarian pattern of India. Farmers would continue to retain their property rights but their land will be pooled for joint cultivation. They will get a profit share in proportion to their land. Further, those who actually work on the land will get wages in proportion of their work contribution (irrespective of whether they own the land or not); in other words, cooperative farming will provide employment to landless labourers also. In a way, this was a solution to the epic failure of land ceiling (because so far governments could not take over the surplus land from big farmers and redistribute it among landless laborers). It helped to start cooperatives related to agro-credit, marketing, and seeds-fertilizer, etc., to finish this stage within 3 years, and then to focus entirely on cooperative farming.

7.3.5. Third Five-year Plan (1961–66)

It observed that nearly 40% of the cooperative farms are not functioning properly. It advocated better implementation of community development program, credit societies, and agri-marketing, etc., for getting success in cooperative farming. Three hundred pilot projects were held in selected district. Each project had 10 cooperative societies. Overall, Third Five-year plan tried to put a brave face, again reaffirming the government's faith in cooperative farming, but overall, wishful platitude not a plan of action.

Check Your Progress

5. Who was the prime minister of India when the Community Development Programme was inaugurated?
6. When was the National Extension Service (NES) launched?
7. Which session of Congress declared that cooperative farming would be the future agrarian pattern of India?

7.4. LAND REFORMS

At the time of independence, ownership of land was concentrated in the hands of a few. This led to the exploitation of the farmers and was a major hindrance towards the socioeconomic development of the rural population. Equal distribution of land was therefore an focal area for Independent India's government. Laws for land ceiling were enacted in various states during the 1950s and 1960s and were modified on the directives of central government in 1972.

Under the 1949 Indian constitution, states are granted the powers to enact (and implement) land reforms. This autonomy ensures that there has been significant variation across states and time in terms of the number and types of land reforms that have been enacted. We classify land reform acts into four main categories according to their main purpose.

The first category constitutes the acts related to tenancy reform. These include attempts to regulate tenancy contracts both via registration and through stipulation of contractual terms, such as shares in share tenancy contracts, as well as attempts to abolish tenancy and transfer ownership to tenants. The second category of land reform acts is attempts to abolish intermediaries. These intermediaries who worked under feudal lords (Zamandari) to collect rent for the British were reputed to allow a larger share of the surplus from the land to be extracted from tenants. Most states had passed legislation to abolish intermediaries before 1958. The third category of land reform acts concerned efforts to implement ceilings on land holdings, with a view to redistributing surplus land to the landless. Finally, we have acts which attempted to allow consolidation of disparate land-holdings. Though these reforms and in particular the latter were justified partly in terms of achieving efficiency gains in agriculture, it is clear from the acts themselves and from the political manifestos supporting the acts that the main impetus driving the first three reforms was poverty reduction.

7.4.1.The Bhoodan Movement

Bhoodan was an attempt at land reform at bringing about institutional changes in agriculture, like land redistribution through a movement and not simply through government legislation. Eminent Gandhian constructive worker Acharya Vinoba Bhave drew upon Gandhian techniques and ideas such as constructive work and trusteeship to launch this movement in the early 1950s. Unfortunately, its revolutionary potential has generally been missed. Vinoba Bhave organized an all-India federation of constructive workers, the Sarvodaya Samaj, which was to take up the task of a nonviolent social transformation in the country. He and his followers were to undertake

padayatra (walk on foot from village to village) to persuade the larger landowners to donate at least one-sixth of their lands as bhoodan or 'land-gift' for distribution among the landless and the land poor. The target was to get as donation 50 million acres, which was one-sixth of the 300 million acres of cultivable land in India. The idea was that each average family of five should give up to one-sixth of their land accepting the poor landless man as a member of the family. The movement, though independent of the government, had the support of the Congress, with the AICC urging Congressmen to participate in it actively. Eminent former Congressman and a prominent leader of the Praja Socialist Party, Jayaprakash Narayan withdrew from active politics to join the Bhoodan movement in 1953.

Vinoba received the first donation of land on 18 April 1951 in the village of Pochampalli in Telangana, then part of Andhra Pradesh, where the reverberations of the Communist Party-led armed peasant revolt were still being felt. In less than 3 months, he had covered about 200 villages in this region and received 12,200 acres as donation. The movement then spread to the North, particularly Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. In the initial years, the movement achieved a considerable degree of success, receiving over 4 million acres of land as donation by March 1956. After this, the movement lost momentum and very little new land was received as donations.

Check Your Progress

8. Who organized the Bhoodan Movement?
9. Where did Vinoba receive the first donation of land?

7.5. PANCHAYATI RAJ SYSTEM IN INDIA

The passage of the Constitution (73rd Amendment) Act, 1992 (or simply the Panchayati Raj Act) marks a new era in the federal democratic setup of the country. It was based on the recommendation of Balwant Rai Mehta committee. It came into force on April 24, 1993. It has a 3-tier system of Panchayati Raj for all States having population of over 20 lakhs.

7.5.1. Historical Background

Directive principles of State Policy deal with Panchayat Raj (Article 40). The Government of India appointed the commission under the chairmanship of Balwant Rai, which recommended a three-tier system. Janata government appointed another commission headed by Ashok Mehta, which recommended two-tier system. During the time of Rajiv Gandhi, Panchayat Raj Act was introduced in 1989 (64^{th} Amendment). The bill was passed in Lok Sabha but rejected in Rajya Sabha. Later during the Narasimha Rao regime, the Act was successfully passed. Rajasthan was pioneer to implement Panchayat Raj system. In 1953, the Rajasthan Panchayat Act was enacted; it was first introduced in 1959 by the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru at Nagour village. Rajasthan has the distinction of being accepting the scheme of democratic decentralization envisaging a three-tier system of representative bodies at the village, block, and district levels.

7.5.2. Panchayati Raj Act

The Act aims to provide a three-tier system of Panchayati Raj, which consists of the following:

(a) Village-level Panchayats.
(b) Block-level Panchayats.
(c) District-level Panchayats.

7.5.3. Main Features of the 73rd Amendment Act

Gram Sabha may exercise such powers and perform such functions at the village level as the Legislature of a State may, by law, provide. There shall be constituted in every State, Panchayats at the village, intermediate, and district levels in accordance with the provisions of this Part. States with a population of less than 20 lakh may do away with the intermediate level. All the seats in a Panchayat shall be filled by persons chosen by direct election from territorial constituencies in the Panchayat area and, for this purpose, each Panchayat area shall be divided into territorial constituencies in such a manner that the ratio between the population of each constituency and the number of seats allotted to it shall, so far as practicable, be the same throughout the Panchayat area. The Legislature of a State may, by law, provide for the representation of the Chairpersons of the Panchayats at the village level, intermediate level, or in the case of a State not having Panchayats at the intermediate level and in the Panchayats at the district level.

7.5.4. Reservation of Seats for S.Cs and S.Ts in local body

Article 243 D provides that seats shall be reserved for the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes. In every Panchayati, the reservation of seats shall be in proportion to their population. Out of the seats so reserved not less than one-third of the total number of seats reserved shall be reserved for women belonging to the Scheduled Castes or the Scheduled Tribes, respectively.

Not less than one-third of the total number of seats would be reserved for women belonging to the Scheduled Castes and the Scheduled Tribes to be filled by direct election in every Panchayat.

The offices of the Chairpersons in the Panchayats at the village or any other level shall be reserved for the Scheduled Castes, the Scheduled Tribes, and women in such a manner as the Legislature of a State may, by law.

7.5.5. Disqualifications of Members

A person shall be disqualified for being a member of a Panchayat, if he or she is so disqualified by or under any law for the time being in force for the purposes of elections to the Legislature of the State concerned and if he or she is so disqualified by or under any law made by the Legislature of the State.

7.5.6. Powers, Authority, and Responsibilities of Panchayati

State Legislatures have the legislative powers to confer on Panchayats such powers and authority as may be necessary to enable them to function as institutions of self-government. They may be entrusted with the responsibility of preparing plans and implementation of schemes for economic development and social justice.

7.5.7. Powers to Impose Taxes and Financial Resources

A state may, by law, authorize a Panchayat to levy, collect and appropriate taxes, duties, tolls, fees, etc. It can also assign to a Panchayat various duties and taxes, etc. collected by the State Government. The grants-in-aid may be given to the Panchayats from the Consolidated Fund of the State.

7.5.8. Panchayati Finance Commissions

Within one year from the commencement of the Constitution (73rd Amendment Act, 1992), it constitutes a Finance Commission to review the financial position of the Panchayats and to make recommendations to the Governor.

Check Your Progress

10. Which article of Indian Constitution deals with Panchayat Raj?
11. What was the first commission appointed for Panchayat Raj?
12. What was the significant of the 64th amendment?
13. Who was the prime minister when Panchayat Raj Act was passed and implemented?
14. What type of Panchayat Raj System is followed in India?

7.6. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. Uttar Pradesh, Punjab, Haryana, Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka, and Tamil Nadu are the milk-surplus states in India.
2. The first large-scale and systematic cooperative dairy unit was established in 1948 at Anand (Gujarat) named as District Cooperative Milk Producers Union Anand, which later become the world famous as the AMUL (Anand Milk Union Ltd.).
3. During the second plan period, regional Dairy research Stations were started at Bombay and Calcutta, in addition to the existing one at Bangalore.
4. During the third plan, Government of India established the National Dairy Development Board (NDDB) at Anand (Gujarat) in 1965.

5. Jawaharlal Nehru was the prime minister of India when the Community Development Programme was inaugurated.
6. The National Extension Service (NES) was launched in October 1953.
7. Nagpur resolution of Congress, 1959, Cooperative farming was proposed as the future agrarian pattern of India.
8. Acharya Vinoba Bhave organized Bhoodan Movement.
9. Vinoba received the first donation of land on 18 April 1951 in the village of Pochampalli in the then Telangana region of Andhra Pradesh.
10. Article 40 deals with Panchayat Raj.
11. Palvanrai Commission was the first commission appointed for Panchayati Raj.
12. The 64th Amendment deals with Panchayat Raj. In 1989, Rajiv Gandhi government introduced the Amendment bill. It was passed by Lok Sabha, but rejected in the Rajya Sabha.
13. Narasimha Rao was the prime minister when Panchayat Raj Act was passed and implemented.
14. Three-tier system (the village, blocks, and district levels) is practised in Panchayat Raj.

7.7. SUMMARY

- India's dairy industry is considered as one of the most successful development programmes in the post-independence period.
- The Government of India implemented cattle development programme focusing on the cattle breeds in India.
- Intensive Dairy Development Programme was lauched during Eight five year plan. Eighty-four projects with an outlay of Rs. 480.05 crores was sanctioned in 25 States and one Union Territory in India.
- In order to improve quality of raw milk produced at the village level in the country. Strengthening Infrastructure scheme was introduced in 2003.
- The Community Development Programme was inaugurated on October 2, 1952. Fifty-five community projects were launched.
- The National Extension Service (NES) was launched in October 1953 with a less number of personnel and more modest financial provision, so that rural development work could proceed on the basis of self-help efforts.
- The land reforms introduced in postindependent India, land ceiling act, zamindari abolition act were passed by the state in different times.
- Vinoba Bhave started Bhoodan Movement in which he received land from the landlords and distributed to landless farmers.
- Panchayat Raj was considered as another important aspect in rural development and was passed in 1992 and implemented in 1993.
- The present Panchayati Raj is working under the three-tier system (the village, block and district levels).

7.8. KEY WORDS

Milch: Denoting a cow or other domestic mammal giving or kept for milk. Milk is a nutrient-rich liquid food produced by the mammary glands of mammals.

Bovine development: Bovine development is studied extensively due to the commercial applications of cattle both for milk and for meat production. There is some variation in the gestation period (279–290 days) for the different breeds.

Community Development: The United Nations defines community development as "a process where community members come together to take collective action and generate solutions to common problems". It was introduced in India during the time of Nehru.

Cooperative societies: Cooperative societies are "an autonomous association of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social, and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly owned and democratically controlled enterprise".

Bhoodan Movement: The Bhoodan Movement, or Land-Gift Movement, was a voluntary land reform movement in India. It was initiated by Acharya Vinoba Bhave in 1951.

Panchayati Raj: It is a decentralized form of government in which each village would be responsible for its own affairs. In India, the Act was introduced in 1992 and implemented in 1993.

7.9. SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. Write a note on Intensive Dairy Development Programme.
2. Give an account on Key Village Scheme.
3. Write a short note on Cooperative Farming.
4. Give an account on the 73rd Amendment.

Long Answer Questions

1. Write an essay on Dairy development in India.
2. Critically analyze land reforms in independent India.
3. Trace the rural development for economic development in India.
4. Estimate Panchayati Raj.

7.10. FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT- 8- MAJOR INDUSTRIES

Structure

8.0. INTRODUCTION

One of the major problems, independent India was facing was industrial growth apart from focusing on agriculture. The industrial growth was very slow and hence the successive governments set up commissions to augment growth, as a result of which public and private industries were paid special attention to. Specific attention was paid to public sector enterprises, classifying them into Maharatna, Navratna and Miniratna. Development of economic conditions of any country depends upon employments opportunities to the people. A country's economic conditions are majorly decided by the country's imports and exports. This chapter discusses the various categories and laws enacted in terms of major industries and import and export in India.

8.1. OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson, you will be able to

- Analyze the industries policy of the country.
- Trace the major industries Navaratna, Miniratra and Maharatna.
- Estimate India's imports and exports.

8.2. MAJOR INDUSTRIES POLICIES

India's Industrial Policies

At the time of Independence, the Indian economy was facing severe problems of illiteracy, poverty, low per capita income, industrial backwardness, and unemployment. Sincere efforts were made to begin an era of industrial development. The government adopted rules and regulations for the various industries. This introduction of industrial policy proved to be the turning point in Indian Industrial history.

8.2.1. Industrial Policy of 1948

Independent India's first industrial policy was announced on 6th April 1948 by Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherjee, the then Industry Minister. The main goal of this policy was to accelerate the industrial development by introducing a mixed economy, where the importance of the private and public sectors in the development of the economy is recognized. It saw the Indian economy in socialistic patterns. The large industries were classified into four categories:

- **Industries with exclusive State Monopoly/Strategic industries:** It included industries engaged in the activity of atomic energy, railways, and arms and ammunition.
- **Industries with Government control:** This category included industries of national importance. Eighteen such categories are mentioned in this category, such as fertilizers, heavy machinery, defense equipment, and heavy chemicals.
- **Industries with Mixed sector:** This category included industries that were allowed to operate independently in the private or public sector. The government was allowed to review the situation to acquire any existing private undertaking.
- **Industry in the Private sector:** Industries that do not belong to the above categories fall into this category. High importance was granted to small businesses and small industries, leading to the utilization of local resources and creating employment.

8.2.2. Industrial Policy Resolution, 1956

This second industrial policy was announced on April 20, 1956. The features of this policy were:

- A new classification of Industries
- Non-discriminatory and fair treatment for the private sector
- Promotion of village and small-scale industries
- Achieving development by removing regional disparity
- Labour welfare

The Insurance Regulatory and Development Authority (IRDA) divided industries into three categories:

Schedule A industries: These industries were under the monopoly of the state or government. It included 7 industries. The private sector was also introduced in these industries if required in the national interest.

Schedule B industries: In this category of industries, the state was allowed to establish new units but the private sector was not denied to set up or expand existing units e.g. chemical industries, fertilizer, synthetic, rubber, aluminum, etc.

Schedule C industries: Industries that were not part of the above-mentioned industries fell under Schedule C industries.

To summarize, the policy of 1956 in which the state was given a primary role for industrial development as capital was scarce and business was not strong.

8.2.3. Indian Policy Statement, 1973

Indian Policy Statement of 1973 identified high priority industries with investment from large industrial houses. Foreign companies were permitted. Large industries were permitted to start operations in rural and backward areas so as to develop those areas and enable the growth of small industries around. And so the basic features of Indian Policy Statement were:

- The policy was directed towards removing the distortions and provided for a closer interaction between agriculture and the industrial sector.
- Priority was given towards generation and transmission of power.
- The list of industries reserved for the small-scale sector was expanded.
- Special legislation was made to protect cottage and household industries were introduced.

8.2.4. Indian Policy Statement, 1977

Indian Policy Statement was announced by the union government. The highlights of this policy are:

1. Target on the development of small-scale and cottage industries.
    a. Household and cottage industries for self-employment.
    b. Tiny sector investment of up to 1 lakhs.
    c. Small-scale industries for investment of up to 1-15 lakhs.
2. Large-scale sector
    a. Basic industries: infrastructure and development of small-scale and village industries.
    b. Capital goods industries: meeting the requirement of cottage industries.
    c. High technological industries: development of agriculture and small-scale industries such as petrochemicals, fertilizers and pesticides.
3. Restrict the control of big business houses.
4. Role of the public sector:
    a. Development of ancillary industries.
    b. To make available expertise in technology and management in small and cottage industries.
5. Revival and rehabilitation of sick units.

8.2.5. Industrial Policy, 1980

The Congress government announced this policy on 23 July 1980. The features of this policy are:

- Promotion of balanced growth.
- Extension and simplification of automatic expansion.
- Taking over industrial sick units.
- Regulation and control of unauthorized excess production capabilities installed for industrial houses.
- Redefining the role of small-scale units.
- Improving the performance of the public sector.

8.2.6. New Industrial Policy, 1991

The features of the New Industrial Policy 1991 are as follows:

- Public sector de-reservation and privatization of the public sector through disinvestment.
- Industrial licensing.
- Amendments to Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices (MRTP) Act, 1969.
- Liberalized Foreign Investment Policy.
- Foreign Technology Agreements (FTA).
- Dilution of protection to SSI and emphasis on competitiveness enhancement.

The all-around changes introduced in the industrial policy framework gave a new direction to the future industrialization of the country. There are encouraging trends on diverse fronts. Industrial growth was 1.7 percent in 1991–92 and increased to 9.2 percent in 2007–08. The industrial structure is much more balanced. The impact of industrial reforms is reflected in multiple increases in investment envisaged, both domestic and foreign.

8.3. MAJOR INDUSTRIES

The Government of India categorizes Central Public Sector Enterprises (CPSEs) under three categories of Navratna, Miniratna, and Maharatna. This categorization is based on factors such as turnover, net worth and net profit on the annual basis and the presence of the company in the stock exchange as per the Securities and Exchange Board of India (SEBI) rules.

Currently there are 10 Maharatna companies in India, 14 Navratna and 73 Miniratna companies. The Department of Public Enterprises is the nodal department of all Central Public Sector Enterprises (CPSEs). The CPSEs may be classified as Central Public Sector Enterprises (CPSEs), Public Sector Undertakings (PSUs) or State Level Public Enterprises (SLPEs).

The Government of India in the year 1997, gave the status of Navrtana to 9 CPSEs, as to give them more power and autonomy to compete in the global market so as to "support [them] in their drive to become global giants". The status enables the company to invest up to certain limits without prior permission from the government. Presently there are 14 CPSEs having the Navratna status.

There are 14 Navratna CPSEs as follows:

1. Bharat Electronics Limited (BEL). It was started in 1956 in Bangalore. Bharat Electronics Limited (Bharat Electronics limited) (BEL) is an Indian state-owned aerospace and defence company with about nine factories, and several regional offices in India. It is owned by the Indian Government and primarily manufactures advanced electronic products for the Indian Armed Forces. BEL is one of nine PSUs under the Ministry of Defence of India.
2. Container Corporation of India. Container Corporation of India Ltd. (CONCOR) is a Public Sector undertaking under the Indian Ministry of Railways. It was started in March 1988 in New Delhi under the Companies Act and commenced operations in November 1989 taking over an existing network of seven inland container depots (ICDs) from Indian Railways.
3. Engineers India Limited. Engineers India Limited is a public-sector undertaking of the Government of India under the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas. It was set up in 1965 to provide engineering and related technical services for petroleum refineries and other industrial projects.
4. Hindustan Aeronautics Limited. Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL) came into existence on 1 October 1964. The Company was formed by the merger of Hindustan Aircraft Limited, an Indian state-owned aerospace and Defence Company headquartered in Bangalore. It is governed under the management of India’s Ministry of Defence.
5. Mahanagar Telephone Nigam Limited. Mahanagar Telephone Nigam Limited, MTNL, was founded in 1986 and is a state-owned telecommunications service provider and wholly owned subsidiary of BSNL headquartered in New Delhi. MTNL Provides services in the metro cities of Mumbai and New Delhi.
6. National Aluminium Company Limited. NALCO was established in 1981 at Bhubaneswar, Odisha, with integrated and diversified operations in mining, metal and power under Ministry of Mines, Government of India. Presently, the Indian government holds 52% equity of NALCO. It is one of the largest integrated Bauxite-Alumina-Aluminium-Power Complex in the Country encompassing bauxite mining, alumina refining, aluminium smelting and casting, power generation, rail and port operations.
7. National Buildings Construction Corporation Limited. It was established in 1960 in Delhi. The Company's present areas of operations are categorized into three main segments, i.e. (i) Project Management Consultancy (PMC), including redevelopment of government properties, (ii) Engineering, Procurement & Construction (EPC) and (iii) Real Estate Development.
8. NMDC Limited. National Mineral Development Corporation was founded in 1958 in Hyderabad. It is a state-controlled mineral producer, with a 72.43% share being owned by the Government of India, under the administrative control of the Ministry of Steel. It is

involved in the exploration of iron ore, copper, rock phosphate, limestone, gypsum, magnesite, diamond, tin, tungsten, graphite etc.

9. Neyveli Lignite Corporation Limited. NLC India Limited (formerly Neyveli Lignite Corporation Limited) was established in 1956. The company works in the fossil fuel mining sector in India and thermal power generation. It annually produces about 30 million tonnes of lignite from opencast mines at Neyveli and at Barsingsar in Bikaner district of Rajasthan state.
10. Oil India Limited. Founded in 1959, Oil India Limited is the second largest public sector hydrocarbon exploration and production company with its operational headquarters in Duliajan, Assam.
11. Power Finance Corporation Ltd. Established in 1986 in New Delhi, it is the financial back bone of Indian Power Sector. PFC's Net worth as on 30 September 2018 was INR 383 billion. PFC is the 8th highest profit making CPSE as per the Department of Public Enterprises Survey for FY 2017-18.
12. Rashtriya Ispat Nigam Ltd. Rashtriya Ispat Nigam Ltd, also known as Vizag Steel, is a Public steel producer based in Visakhapatnam in 1982. Rashtriya Ispat Nigam Limited is the corporate entity of Visakhapatnam Steel Plant, India's first shore-based integrated Steel Plant built with state-of-the-art technology.
13. Rural Electrification Corporation Limited. formerly Rural Electrification Corporation Limited, REC Limited was founded in New Delhi in 1969 and is a public Infrastructure Finance Company in India’s power sector. The company is a Public Sector Undertaking and finances and promotes rural electrification projects across India.
14. The Shipping Corporation of India. This is a Public Sector Enterprise with its headquarters in Mumbai in 1961 that operates and manages vessels that service both national and international lines.

There are 10 Maharatna Companies in India:

Bharat Heavy Electricals Limited, Bharat Petroleum Corporation Limited, Coal India Limited, GAIL (India) Limited, Hindustan Petroleum Corporation Limited, Indian Oil Corporation Limited, NTPC Limited, Oil & Natural Gas Corporation Limited, Power Grid Corporation of India Limited, Steel Authority of India Limited

After Navaratna and Maharatna, Miniratna companies are 73 in number and are divided into Category 1 and Category 2.

Airports Authority of India	Antrix Corporation Limited	Balmer Lawrie & Co. Limited
Bharat Coking Coal Limited	Bharat Dynamics Limited	BEML Limited
Bharat Sanchar Nigam Limited	Bridge & Roof Company (India) Limited	Central Warehousing Corporation
Central Coalfields Limited	Central Mine Planning & Design Institute	Chennai Petroleum Corporation Limited

	Limited	
Cochin Shipyard Limited	EdCIL (India) Limited	Kamarajar Port Limited
Garden Reach Shipbuilders & Engineers Limited	Goa Shipyard Limited	Hindustan Copper Limited
HLL Lifecare Limited	Hindustan Newsprint Limited	Hindustan Paper Corporation Limited
Housing & Urban Development Corporation Limited	HSCC (India) Limited	India Tourism Development Corporation Limited
Indian Rare Earths Limited	Indian Railway Catering & Tourism Corporation Limited	Indian Railway Finance Corporation Limited
Indian Renewable Energy Development Agency Limited	India Trade Promotion Organization	IRCON International Limited
KIOCL Limited	Mazagaon Dock Shipbuilders Limited	Mahanadi Coalfields Limited
MOIL Limited	Mangalore Refinery & Petrochemical Limited	Mineral Exploration Corporation Limited
Mishra Dhatu Nigam Limited	MMTC Limited	MSTC Limited
National Fertilizers Limited	National Projects Construction Corporation Limited	National Small Industries Corporation Limited
National Seeds Corporation	NHPC Limited	Northern Coalfields Limited
North Eastern Electric Power Corporation Limited	Numaligarh Refinery Limited	ONGC Videsh Limited
Pawan Hans Helicopters Limited	Projects & Development India Limited	Railtel Corporation of India Limited
Rail Vikas Nigam Limited	Rashtriya Chemicals & Fertilizers Limited	RITES Limited
SJVN Limited	Security Printing and Minting Corporation of India Limited	South Eastern Coalfields Limited
Telecommunications Consultants India Limited	THDC India Limited	Western Coalfields Limited
WAPCOS Limited		

Following are the Miniratna Category-II CPSEs:

Artificial Limbs Manufacturing Corporation of India	Bharat Pumps & Compressors Limited
Broadcast Engineering Consultants India Limited	Central Railside Warehouse Company Limited

Engineering Projects (India) Limited	FCI Aravali Gypsum & Minerals India Limited
Ferro Scrap Nigam Limited	HMT (International) Limited
Indian Medicines & Pharmaceuticals Corporation Limited	MECON Limited
National Film Development Corporation Limited	Rajasthan Electronics & Instruments Limited.

Check Your Progress

1. When was the first industrial policy introduced in the independent India?
2. How are the industries in India divided according to the IRDA?
3. When was the New Industries Policy introduced?
4. How are the major industries classified in India?
5. How many industries are in Miniratnas?

8.4. IMPORT AND EXPORT

Foreign trade is recognized as the most significant determinant of the economic development of a country, all over the world. For providing, regulating and creating necessary environment for its orderly growth, several checks and balances have been put in place. The foreign trade of a country consists of inward and outward movement of goods and services that result into the outflow and inflow of foreign exchange. The foreign trade of India is governed by the Foreign Trade (Development & Regulation) Act, 1992 and the values and orders issued thereunder. Payments for the import and export transactions are governed by the Foreign Trade Exchange Management, 1992 and the rules and order issued thereunder. Payments for the import and export transactions are governed by the Foreign Exchange Management Act, 1999. Customs Act, 1962 provides the guidelines for the physical movement of goods and services through various modes of transportations. To make India a quality producer and exporter of goods and services, apart from projecting such image, an important Act has been vogue, which was fulfilled by –the Export (Quality Control and Inspection) Act, 1963. The growth of foreign trade is dependent on the export/import policy adopted by the country too.

Even the Exim policy 2002–2007 lays importance on simplify procedures, sharply to further reduce transactions costs. Today's international trade is not only highly competitive but also dynamic. For Indian export to compete internationally, it is important to have a necessary responsive framework. In order to harness these gains from trade, the transaction cost in turn should be dependent on the framework support. International trade is a vital part of the development strategy and it can be an effective instrument of economic growth, employment generation and poverty alleviation. Market conditions change, almost daily, requiring quick response and more importantly, anticipation of the future requirement, and therefore it is essential that the frame work keeps pace.

Following are the objective of India's foreign trade policy:

1. To Study the importance of foreign trade in the world of Indian market.
2. To examine the relationship between Indian foreign trade and economic development of India.
3. To link rules, procedures and incentives for exports and imports with other initiatives such as Make in India, Digital India, and Skills India to create an export promotion mission for India.
4. To create architecture for India's global trade engagement with a view to expanding its markets and better integrating with major regions, thereby increasing the demand for India's products and contributing to the governments flagship Make in India initiative.

The export trade during the 1950s and 1960s was noticeable in terms of two main trends. First, commodities which were directly based on agricultural production such as tea, cotton textiles, jute manufactures, hides and skins, spices and tobacco exports did not increase on the whole, and secondly, there was a significant increase in the exports of raw manufactures such as iron ore. During 1950–51, cashew kernels, black pepper, tea, coal, mica, manganese ore, raw and tanned hides and skins, vegetable oils, raw cotton, and raw wool dominated the Indian export sector. These products comprised 34 per cent of the total exports. In the 1950s there was a balance of payments crunch. The export proceeds were not enough to fulfill the emerging import demands. The turndown in agriculture production and growing pace of development activity complicated the situation. External factors such as the closure of Suez Canal created tension on the domestic financial system. The critical problem at that moment was that of foreign exchange scarcity. A significant phenomenon in post-war economic history was the enormous expansion of world trade. But India's trade grew poorly between 1950 and 1980 as compared with world trade. India entered into a planned development era in the 1950's and at that time import substitution was a major element of India's trade and industrial policy. In 1950, India's share in the total world trade was 1.78%, which reduced to 0.6% in 1995. In 1993, India ranked 33rd in exports and 32nd in imports. Natural Resources of the country are not evenly divided amongst public and private sector business enterprises. During 2003–04 India's share in the global trade was 0.8%; in 2005, it was 1.0%.

8.4.1. The Alexander Committee

The Alexander Committee (1978) was the first committee to review and make recommendations on Import/Export Policies and Procedures. This committee recommended the simplification of the import licensing procedure and provided a framework involving a shift in the emphasis from control to development.

8.4.2. The Tandon Committee

In 1980 Tandon Committee make recommendations on export strategies in the 1980s. For the first time in India's history, the Export Import policy of 1978–

79 recommended decentralization of some licensing functions enhancement of powers of regional licensing authorities. Export-oriented units were set up under the EOU scheme introduced in early 1981.

The Export and Import Bank of India was set up in 1982 to take over the operations of the international finance wing of the IDBI. Its other major objectives were to provide financial assistance to exporters and importers.

8.4.3. Abid Husain Committee

The Trade Policy of 1985–88 provided some measures based upon the recommendations of the Abid Husain Committee 1984. This committee envisaged growth-led exports, rather than export-led growth. The recommendation of this committee stressed upon the need for bringing harmony between the foreign trade policies and other domestic policies. This committee recommended foreign trade policies for longer terms. The Export Import Passbook Scheme was introduced in 1985 as recommended by the Abid Hussain Committee.

Tax Reform Committee chaired by Raja J Chelliah suggested minimizing the role of quantitative restrictions and reducing the tariff rates substantially.

Apart from the various committee recommendations discussed above, India's imports and exports were legally regulated through various acts over time. Following are some of the important acts:

1. Tea Act, 1953
2. Coffee Act, 1942
3. The Rubber Act, 1947
4. The Marine Products Export Development Authority Act, 1972.
5. The Enemy Property Act, 1968
6. The Export (Quality Control and Inspection) Act, 1963
7. The Tobacco Board Act, 1975

With the liberalization, privatization and globalization of the Indian economy and following liberal foreign trade, there had been changes in the business environment. With the development of science and technology, there is a change in the nature of the Indian economy. The volume of India's international trade as well as the exports from India increased.

Check Your Progress

6. What was the first committee to review and recommend import – export policies in independent India?
7. When was the export and import bank established?
8. The Passbook Scheme was introduced in 1985 as per the recommendation of _________.

8.5. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The first industrial policy was introduced in 1948.
2. According to the IRDA, industries in India are divided into three categories: Schedule A industries, Schedule B industries, and Schedule C industries.

3. New Industries Policy was introduced in 1991.
4. The Government of India categorizes the central public sector enterprises (CPSEs) into three categories of Navratna, Miniratna, and Maharatna.
5. There are 73 Miniratna companies, divided into Category 1 and Category 2.
6. The Alexander Committee was the first committee to review and recommend import –export policies.
7. Export and Import Bank was established in 1982.
8. The Passbook Scheme was introduced in 1985 as per the recommendation of Abid Hussain Committee.

8.6. SUMMARY

- The first Industries Act was passed in 1948 and later in 1956, 1977, and 1980. The New Economic Policy was introduced in 1991 and made recommendations for the development of major industries.
- The major industries are classified into Navaratna, Miniratna and Maharatna.
- At present there are 14 navaratna, 10 Maharatna and 73 Miniratna companies.
- Customs Act 1962 governs the physical movement of goods and services through various modes of transportations.
- India's foreign trade is governed by the Foreign Trade (Development & Regulation) Act, 1992.
- Various committees such as Alexander Committee, Tandon Committee and Abid Hussain Committee, gave recommendations for promoting foreign trade.

8.7. KEY WORDS

Navratna: The Government of India in the year 1997 gave the status of Navrtana to 9 CPSEs, so as to give them more power and autonomy to compete in the global market and to "support [them] in their drive to become global giants".

Miniratna: The Union Government of India has decided to offer autonomy and representatives of various financial powers to different profit-making organizations and this new category generated is known as Miniratna.

Maharatna: The "Maharatna" category for CPSEs was introduced in 2009 with an objective to empower mega CPSEs to expand their operations and emerge as global giants or become Indian Multinational Companies (MNCs).

GAIL: The Gas Authority of India Limited is a Government of India undertaking company. It is the largest state-owned natural gas processing and distribution company in India with its headquarters in New Delhi. Gail comes under the administrative control of the Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas.

IDBI: Industrial Development Bank of India was established in 1964 by an Act to provide credit and other financial facilities for the development of the fledgling Indian industry. Initially it was operated as a subsidiary of the

Reserve Bank of India, which was later, transferred it to the government of India.

8.8. SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. Give an account on New Industries Policy 1991.
2. Write a short note on Miniratna Industries.
3. Discuss recommendations of the Abid Hussain Committee.
4. Write a short note on various Acts passed over time to regulate India's foreign trade.

Long Answer Questions

1. Write an essay on the industrial policy in the independent India.
2. Estimate Navaratna Industries.
3. Analyze the import/export policy of the Indian government.

8.9. FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT-9-NEHRU ERA

Structure

9.0. INTRODUCTION

Nehru was the first Prime Minister and the architect of Modern India who was an unforgettable personality in contemporary India. Nehru laid the foundation for all aspects including economy, socialism, secularism, democracy, parliamentary form of government, and independent foreign policy. It was not possible to study post-independence India underestimating Nehruvian thoughts. His vision and mission will always be remembered. After his death, his successor Shastri followed the footsteps of Nehru. Though Shastri ruled less than 2 years, he faced many political challenges – particularly anti-Hindi agitation and Indo-Pak war – that are considered as significant political events. In this background, this lesson focuses on Nehru’s vision and mission and the political events that happened during Shastri’s tenure.

9.1. OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson, you will be able to:

- Discuss Nehru as the architect of Modern India,
- Trace centre–state relationship,
- Analyze anti-Hindi agitation at the time of Shastri's tenure,
- Explain Indo-Pak war 1965 and its results.

9.2. NEHRU'S VISION AND VALUES

Jawaharlal Nehru was a nation builder par excellence. He built the modern India brick by brick. Nehru had clear vision and values to build the modern India. He had the perception of an integrated, strong, and stable India, and cherished and nourished the values of liberal democracy, democratic socialism, secularism, scientific approach, and world outlook. Nehru visualized an integrated India that is ruled based on democracy not dictatorship, socialism not capitalism, social pluralism not social uniformity, secularism not communalism, scientific temper not obscurantism, safety of the minority not the tyranny of the majority, and world peace not war pacts.

9.2.1. Integration of India

Independent India was born after the Caesarian operation of partition, "moment of unprecedented triumph and tragedy for the India nation". There was widespread violence, bloodshed, murder, mayhem, and migration of daunting magnitude around partition. So, the first task for Nehru was to preserve the newly won Independence and protect the integrity of India from communal callousness. Nehru successfully managed this administrative and Psychological crisis and a threat to national unity by a fire fighting operation. The battle of postindependence political freedom was fought and won, and the communal problem was nipped in the bud. This unity was reinforced by the integration of princely states with India. In short, "Nehru succeeded in maintaining and strengthening national unity".

9.2.2. Promoter of Parliamentary Democracy

9.2.2.1. Innovative Initiatives

India was proclaimed a Sovereign Democratic Republic. It offered Nehru a new vista of opportunity to shape the destiny of independent India by introducing innovative initiatives. With his independent foreign policy of Nonalignment, Nehru demonstrated that India was a Sovereign Republic. Nehru built democratic institutions and conventions through liberal democracy based on universal adult suffrage. India successfully fought the first three general elections in 1952, 1957, and 1962 on this firm electoral basis and made free and fair elections the norm of Indian democracy. Nehru defied all gloomy western projections of the survival of parliamentary democracy in

India by "making the super-human antihistoric effort to impose it on a society whose central fact was backwardness."

Pillars of Democracy

Nehru was eminently successful in making parliamentary democracy work well in the largely illiterate, impoverished new nation and gave India seventeen solid years of stability and continuity. In the process, Nehru never failed to strengthen the institutional pillars of Indian democracy–Legislature, Executive, and Judiciary. Nehru did not impose a 'plebiscitary monarchy' on India but embarked on participatory democracy though 'political democracy was not always regarded as a necessary precondition for modernization.' In between elections Nehru carefully nurtured the prestige and vitality of Parliament by actively participating in the proceedings of the Parliament as the leader of the Lok Sabha and the Congress Parliamentary Party.

9.2.3. Cabinet Government

Parliamentary government means the cabinet system of government based on collective responsibility. Nehru's cabinet, an admixture of Congress and non-Congress members, some of them diametrically opposed to Nehru's views and approaches, was the chamber of expertise and experience; promoting national interests was their common concern. True, Nehru's cabinet was practically a 'one-man show' after the departure of Gandhi and Patel. And yet the procedures of collective policy making was meticulously maintained, scrupulously followed, and firmly established. "This was the work of Nehru achieved against the drive of his own personality and despite the eager subservience of moldering mediocrities who claimed to be his colleagues".

9.2.4. New Role of Bureaucracy

India inherited a bureaucratic administrative structure, which was a colonial creation. During the freedom struggle, the national leaders lambasted the ICS, as neither Indian, nor Civil, nor Service. Nehru condemned that ICS was insensitive to the aspirations of the people. But after Independence, Prime Minister Nehru made the best use of the ICS because of their professionalism, efficiency, and reputation for thoroughness. Sardar Patel retained all the Indian members of the ICS with constitutional guarantees and used their services in consolidating independent India. ICS officers acquitted themselves wonderfully well in helping the Partition Council headed by Lord Mountbatten, and they managed two-way migration of refugees, integration of princely states, linguistic reorganization of states, and in shaping and implementing socialistic, social welfare programmes. Nehru not only safeguarded the independence, integrity, and neutrality of the civil service but also attempted to metamorphose it into an administrative engine of development and welfare.

9.2.5. Independence of Judiciary

Similarly, the judiciary, another colonial legacy, was converted to be the sentinel for protecting and safeguarding the people's fundamental rights

guaranteed by the Constitution and scrupulously enforcing the rule of law and judicial review. The Supreme Court of India emerged as one of the most powerful courts in the world. Though the Indian judicial system was British in form, it was Indian in practice. The judiciary could strike down unconstitutional, arbitrary, and unreasonable laws. Himself a lawyer, Nehru respected the independence of judiciary. But when the judiciary stood in the way of radical socioeconomic legislation in the name of defence of individual rights, insensitive to social issues, and negate land, reforms Nehru never hesitated to "needle the judiciary with constitutional amendments".

Perspective Planner

Well-versed in Marxism, Maoism, Western Capitalism, and Fabian Socialism, Nehru was not enamored with the established economic models of socialism or capitalism. He wanted to experiment and evolve his own model of mixed economy for planned development. He knew pretty well that a country that had been exploited for nearly two centuries could not sail into modern times on the strength of its own modest capital. He was convinced that a new nation like India had to tackle poverty, population explosion, and inequality on her own soil. So, Nehru decided to build an independent self-reliant economy a special focus on rapid industrialization, agricultural self-sufficiency, and social welfare with social justice. Nehru opted for planning as a panacea for all ills afflicting India. He viewed the economy holistically with a long-term perspective. India's development programmes attracted the attention of foreign countries. Soviet Union, Britain, and Germany came forward in setting up three new steel plants during the second plan period. Bhakra Nangal was completed. Defence industry was established. The income generated through Five-year Plans was invested in agriculture, irrigation, electricity generation, and huge multipurpose hydroelectric projects, "the new temples of India," and a series of heavy industries. Nehru was sure that over time the public sector would generate additional resources save, invest, and develop further. In fact, the industrial policy resolution 1956 clearly stated that the public sector industries would "augment the revenues of the state and provide resources for further department in fresh fields". Nehru had no patience for inefficient, unproductive, and loss making public sector undertakings. Since the plans set only the broad contours of development and if projects and programmes did not work as planned, then it could be set right in subsequent years. With great foresight, Nehru encouraged panchayat and local-level planning. Such a planning process allowed the ordinary people to participate in the planning process. But for planning, building an industrial infrastructure from scratch would not have been possible. "Self-reliance gave India a diverse industrial base by 1964 and a Green Revolution in agriculture soon after".

9.2.6. Social Revolutionary

Nehru endeavored to bring about social revolution by consent. Social justice was the king pin of social transformation. National integration, political stability, and economic planning were given prime attention on social change. Nehru wanted to transform the traditional, stratified, and static society into a modern, casteless, and dynamic society, where there would be no special

rights, privileges, or dignities based on birth, caste, or creed. He made legal and institutional arrangements to remove the seemingly insurmountable disabilities suffered by the deprived and depraved sections of the people. Along with them, women, who suffered and subjected to a great deal of social injustice, were given a fair deal. Nehru rightly considered the enactment of measures for the improvement of the conditions of Hindu women as his lasting contribution. His government enacted and enforced all social legislation with the consent and participation of the people without coercion.

9.2.7. Contributor of Science and Technology

Development of science and technology has been the sine qua non of modern India. Nehru passionately dedicated himself to the cause of science and technology to solve the socioeconomic problems in India. At the time of independence, India possessed great scientific and technological capabilities. India was endowed with a strong base of science, particularly in basic sciences, which was expected to propel national development. It required the sustained support of Nehru to flower and flows. Nehru was the creator of infrastructure for science and technology. The Nehru Era tried to achieve a massive development in such infrastructure. Postindependence period witnessed the emergence of national laboratories, development of the atomic energy programme, the space programme, establishment of institutional facility like the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, starting of Indian Institutes of Technology and Regional Engineering Colleges, associating eminent scientists like Homi Bhabha, S.S. Bhatnagar, Mahalanobis, to name a few, with the development of scientific research, and strengthening defence science under the leadership of the outstanding physicist D.S. Kothari.

Indian scientific community was duly recognized and honoured by Nehru. He kept close touch with the leaders of science in India and abroad. A landmark achievement of Nehru in this field was the adoption of the Scientific Policy Resolution of 1958. As a patron of culture, Nehru regarded science as a culture to be cultivated by scientific temper. Nehru asserted that the "future belongs to those who make friends which science".

9.2.8. Diplomat

Nehru, as Prime Minister-cum-Foreign Affairs Minister, played a pivotal role in international relations. He not only conceived a foreign policy but also practiced it. The interaction between foreign policy priorities and domestic demands factored in shaping Nehru's foreign policy. Under Nehru, India was no longer a static or status quo power, though he never wanted to extend its military or economic power to international relations.

9.2.9. Estimate

Nehru was a many-splendored personality and his policies were multifaceted. He grew up among Indian Revolution, and built Independent India. His sway over the masses, his unflinching faith in their innate common sense and

capacity for hard work, and his eagerness to involve people at every stage of country's progress helped him to build the new nation. India was Nehru's 'field of action' and Indians were the 'source of action'. His acts of social and national creation were his cumulative work of changing the 'inert uncreative motto,' an alert creative citizen. The image of Nehru was one who was born with a silver spoon in his mouth taught and brought up in an aristocratic environment, fought, suffered, and sacrificed for the cause of the country's freedom and dedicated himself to the building of modern India outlasted his death.

Check Your Progress

1. How many general elections were held during Nehru Era?
2. According to Nehru what are the modern temples of India?
3. Who were the prominent Scientists at the time of Nehru?
4. When was the Scientific Policy Resolution introduced?

9.3. CENTRAL–STATE RELATIONS

In the earlier years of federalism, both the leadership and the prevailing party system were conducive to the implementation of the vision of the framers of the Constitution. The leaders at the centre and the states seemed ready to make compromises for the sake of democracy, diversity, and integration. These included reorganization of provinces on a linguistic basis, the provision of considerable autonomy to these provinces as administrative units, and the adoption of the three languages formula for both education and governance. Some observers viewed this as a positive trend, which they called a process of building a state–nation rather than a nation–state.

Centralisation of powers was considered necessary. During the first couple of decades after independence, the ‘All India Congress’ system worked in furthering exactly this necessity. The centre controlled and ran the subsidiary agencies through party chief ministers. The tone and content of Nehru’s letters to the chief ministers show how the first prime minister sought to make federal governance a national as well as a party affair. The federal structure as such never had a chance to operate. The states also could not enjoy their constitutional autonomy.

This system, which was based on the attempt for an all-inclusive agglomeration of myriad identities and groups through inter-governmental adjustment and changes, soon proved inadequate. As long as there was hope that the achievements of national economic growth and modernisation would finally spill over into the peripheries and lead to nation-wide wealth and prosperity, regions could not contest the central administration’s regional development process. However, faith in the growth-pole approach began to fade when its shortcomings or outright failure became evident. Also, crucial to the diffusion of democratic norms was belief in challenging traditional hegemonies and in using politics as an arena within which such challenge could be waged. As the steady growth of this belief coincided with major failures of the system in delivering the goods in socioeconomic terms and consequent rise in discontent and unrest, the democratic process was bound to

produce new demands and a new scale of demands that were not only any longer satisfied with marginal adjustments and incremental cooption of new groups but also called for attending to structural and distributive issues. By the mid-1960s, this turn from accepting what came and hoping for things to improve, to asking for what was their due under democratic order, had taken place and generated a new politics of demand and an atmosphere charged with the idea of change.

9.3.1. Constitution Provisions in Centre–state Relations

The Constitution provides a federal system of government in the country even though it describes India as 'a Union of States'. This phrase implies that, firstly, the Indian federation is not due to an agreement between independent units and, secondly, the units of Indian federation cannot leave the federation. India is a union of states. The constitution of India has been divided into the legislative, executive, and financial powers between the centre and the states, which gives the constitution a federal character whereas judiciary is integrated in a hierarchical structure.

The centre–state relations are divided into three parts

(A) Legislative Relations (Articles 245–255).

(B) Administrative Relations (Articles 256–263).

(C) Financial Relations (Articles 268–293).

9.3.2. Legislative Relations

Articles 245–255 in Part XI deal with different aspects of legislative relations between centre and states. These include the following:

(1) Territorial jurisdiction of laws made by the Parliament and by the Legislatures of States.

(2) Distribution of legislative subjects.

(3) Power of parliament to legislate with respect to a matter in the State List.

(4) Centre's control state legislation.

However, the Seventh Schedule of the Constitution provides for the distribution of legislative powers between the centre and the states. The legislative subjects are divided into List I (the Union List), List II (the Concurrent List), and List III (the State List). The Union list includes subjects such as foreign affairs, defence, railway, postal services, banking, atomic energy, communication, and currency, etc. The concurrent list includes subjects such as education, forests, protection of wild animals and birds, electricity, labour welfare, criminal law and procedure, civil procedure, population control and family planning, and drugs, etc. The State list includes subjects such as police, public order, roadways, health, agriculture, local government, drinking water facilities, and sanitation, etc.

Article 245 empowers the centre to give directions to the states in certain cases in regards to the exercise of their executive powers.

Article 249 empowers the parliament to legislate matters in the State List in the national interest.

Under Article 250, the parliament can make laws on the matters related to state list during the times of national emergency (under Article 352).

Under Article 252, the parliament can legislate for two or more States by their consent.

9.3.3. Administrative Relations

Articles 256–263 deal with the administrative relations between the centre and the states. Article 256 states that "the executive power of every State shall be so exercised as to ensure compliance with the laws made by the parliament and any existing laws which apply in that State, and the executive power of the Union shall extend to the giving of such directions to a State as may appear to the Government of India to be necessary for that purpose".

9.3.4. Cooperation between the Centre and the States

The constitution lays down various provisions to secure cooperation and coordination between the centre and the states. These include the following: Article 261 states that "Full faith and credit shall be given throughout the territory of India to public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of the Union and of every State". According to Article 262, the parliament may by law provide for the adjudication of any dispute or complaint with respect to the use, distribution, or control of the waters of, or in, any inter-State river or river valley. Article 263 empowers the President to establish an inter-State Council to inquire into and advise upon disputes between states to investigate and discuss subjects in which some or all of the States, or the Union and one or more of the States, have a common interest. As per Article 307, Parliament may by law appoint such authority as it considers appropriate for carrying out the purposes of the constitutional provisions related to the inter-state freedom of trade and commerce.

Centre–state Relations during Emergency

During a national emergency (under Article 352), the state government become subordinate to the central government. All the executive functions of the state come under the control of the union government. During a state emergency (under Article 356), the president can assume to himself all or any of the functions of the Government of the State and all or any of the powers vested in or exercisable by the Governor or authority in the State other than the Legislature of the State. During the operation of financial emergency (under Article 360), the Union may give directions to any State to observe such canons of financial propriety as may be specified in the directions and to the giving of such other directions as the President may deem necessary and adequate for the purpose.

Financial Relations

The Constitution deals with the centre–state financial relations in Articles 268–293 of Part XII.

Allocation of taxing powers

The Constitution has provided the union government and the state governments with the independent sources of revenue, allocating powers to the centre and the states in the following manner: The parliament has exclusive power to levy taxes on the subjects mentioned in the Union List. The state legislatures have exclusive power to levy taxes on the subjects mentioned in the State List. Both the parliament and the state legislature are empowered to levy taxes on the subjects mentioned in the Concurrent List. The parliament has exclusive power to levy taxes on the matters related to the residuary subjects.

Check Your Progress

5. Which articles deal with the Centre–state relationship?
6. How powers are shared between the Centre and the States?
7. Who enjoys the residuary power according to the Indian constitution?
8. Which article deals with State Emergency?

9.4. LAL BAHADUR SHASTRI 1964-1966

Shastri became the second Prime Minister of India on 2 June 1964 after the death of Nehru. Though the succession was not easy after Nehru, Kamaraj and other leaders of congress unanimously selected Shastri. Shastri retained all ministers of Nehru cabinet and inducted two new faces: Indira Gandhi and S.K. Patil.

Food Crises, 1964

The first and foremost daunting task of Shastri's government was to meet the severe challenge of a serious food crisis. Due to shortage of food grains, the food prices had risen by 22% in the past eighteen months, which was as much as the rise in the preceding 10 years. Shastri formulated an All-India Food Policy. He then initiated a series of short-term and long-term measures to stem the tide:

1. Food ships distained to go to other ports were arranged to divert to India
2. the import of food grains was increased
3. the network of fair-price shops was spread over the country
4. an Agricultural Prices Commission was constituted to keep the price situation under constant review and to look into the working to the fair-price shops
5. a Food Grains Trading Corporation was set up to purchase internal agricultural produce at remunerative prices and to ensure a proper distribution system in the country
6. an Agricultural Commission was charged with the work of fixing reasonable margins for prices to be enforced at wholesalers and retailers levels
7. legislation was introduced for quality control of imported seeds
8. intensive irrigation was given priority
9. plant protection measures were extended throughout the country

10. large and more efficient rice mills were established.

These measures were intended to attain self-sufficiency in food by the end of the fourth five-year plan. Thus, a firm foundation was laid for Green Revolution, thanks to the innovative push given by C. Subramaniyan, the food minister.

Shastri not only freed agriculture from stagnation but also wanted to save Industry from excessive control. With socialistic mindset, he initiated measures to rectify the imbalance in the country's development planning, reduction in government expenditure, and strict standards of fixing priorities. He was prepared to repriotize projects in the field of heavy industry so that projects undertaken could be completed. Above all, Shastri's Government was contemplating liberalization of less useful controls and the task was entrusted to L.K. Jha, his Principal Secretary.

9.4.1. Anti-Hindi Agitation, 1965

9.4.1.1. The Language Policy

During India's freedom struggle, national leaders carried on the movement through the medium of regional languages and demanded the replacement of English by a national language. After Independence, the Constituent Assembly debated the issue and arrived at a compromise formula. The Constitution spelled out the language policy (Articles. 343 and 344) and stipulated that Hindi would replace English after 1965. The Official Languages Commission, under the Chairmanship of B.G. Kher (1955), recommended the process of replacement within the constitutional time-frame. The Joint Parliamentary Party reviewed the Kher Commission Report, and on the basis of its recommendation, the President issued an order in April 1960. Following the Presidential Order, the Government of India introduced series of steps, which aroused the suspicion of the non-Hindi speaking states.

9.4.1.2. Nehru's Assurance

The highlight of Nehru’s approach was a major statement in parliament on 7 August, 1959. To allay the fears of non-Hindi people, he gave a definite assurance: ‘I would have English as an alternate language as long as the people require it, and I would leave the decision not to the Hindi-knowing people, but to the non-Hindi-knowing people.’ He also told the people of the South that ‘if they do not want to learn Hindi, let them not learn Hindi’. He repeated this assurance in parliament on 4 September 1959. Keeping his promise, Nehru government passed official language Act in 1963 in favour of non-Hindi speakers. This Act removed the constitutional constraint on the use of English after 1965.

9.4.1.3. The Provocation

On 26 January 1965, the prescribed time period of 15 years to make Hindi the official language replacing English, as provided in the constitution, came to an end. Nanda, the Home Minister and an ardent advocate of Hindi,

persuaded himself that under the dispensation of Shastri, it should be easier to use Hindi for official purposes in the union administration to start with at a much more faster phase and at a much greater extent. Communications were issued to the Departments to use Hindi alone as the language of central communication.

9.4.1.4. The Agitation

The Dravida Munnetra Khazhalgam (DMK), the main opposition in the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly, jumped at this opportunity to launch a state-wide Anti-Hindi agitation. The anti-Hindi agitation, under the leadership of C.N. Annadurai, escalated into a movement. On 25 January 1965, there were demonstrations, processions, meetings, and burning of the effigies of 'the demon of Hindi'. In the Madras city, two agitators burnt themselves to death. There was police firing at a student demonstration in Chidambaram in which a student was shot dead. The Republic Day (26 Jan) was observed as 'a day of mourning’. On 28 January, the situation in Madras became explosive. The authoritarian attitude and the undiplomatic approach of the Chief Minister M. Bhaktavatsalam aggravated the situation.

Shastri's appeal to the agitators to withdraw the movement in view of a special law passed by Parliament enabling English to continue as the associate language went unheeded. The agitation continued unabated. On 15 February, 35 agitators were killed and 25 injured in a series of police firings as students in various parts of the state went on a rampage. Two police officers were burnt alive by mobs. The resignations of two central ministers—C. Subramaniyan, Food Minister and O.V. Alagesan, Minister of State for Petroleum and Chemicals both from Madras State—made matters worse. Shastri's broadcast appeal on 11 February to the agitators fell on deaf ears.

9.4.1.5. Nehru's Assurance Restored

On 12 February, the death toll in police firings in Madras and Pondicherry mounted to 54. In the incidents in Coimbatore, Madurai, North Arcot, Trichy, and Madras, 24 persons were killed in firings. On the same day, Acharya Vinoba Bave undertook an indefinite fast in protest against violence in Madras. On 25 February, 1965, a meeting of the CWC and Chief Ministers, held in New Delhi, arrived at 'agreed decisions' on the language issue, in the teeth of opposition by 106 MPs of the CPP hailing from Hindi-speaking regions. Though the matter was informally discussed in the Cabinet, no decision could be taken. President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan played "a crucial role at this juncture by persuading Prime Minister to desist from the course of action he had decided upon". Finally, the Union Government, in June 1965, agreed to give legislative sanction to Nehru's assurances in regard to the continued use of English for administrative purpose. The anti-Hindi agitation started in January 1965 was called off in early 1966.

9.5. INDO-PAK WAR 1965

In 1965, the followers of Sheikh Abdullah and other dissident leaders created a huge unrest in the Kashmir Valley. The Pakistani leadership thought that the situation there was ripe for an intervention, especially as Pakistan had superiority in arms, having acquired sophisticated U.S. military equipment. Pakistan tested India's response to a military push by occupying in April 1965 a part of the disputed and undemarcated territory in the marshy Rann of Kutch, bordering the Arabian Sea and Gujarat. There was a military clash but, because of the nature of the terrain, India's military response was weak and hesitant. On Britain's intervention, the two sides agreed to refer the dispute to international arbitration. Unfortunately, the conflict in the Rann of Kutch sent wrong signals to the rulers of Pakistan, who concluded that India's government and armed forces were not yet ready for war. In August, the Pakistani government sent well-trained infiltrators into the Kashmir Valley, hoping to foment a pro-Pakistan uprising there and thus create conditions for its military intervention. Shastri ordered the army to cross the ceasefire line and seal the passes through which the infiltrators were coming and to occupy such strategic posts as Kargil, Uri, and Haji Pir. Also, unlike in 1962, the entire country rallied behind the government. In response, on 1 September, Pakistan launched a massive tank and infantry attack in the Chamb sector in the south-west of Jammu and Kashmir, threatening India's only road link with Kashmir. Shastri immediately ordered the Indian army to not only defend Kashmir but also move across the border into Pakistan towards Lahore and Sialkot. Thus, the two countries were involved in an undeclared war. The USA and Britain immediately cut off arms, food, and other supplies to both countries. However, the Soviet Union, sympathetic to India, discouraged China from going to Pakistan's aid. Under pressure from the UN Security Council, a ceasefire was agreed and came into effect on 23 September. The war was inconclusive, with both sides believing that they had won significant victories and inflicted heavy damage on the other. The only effective result was that 'invasion by infiltration' of Kashmir had been foiled. At the same time, the 3 weeks of fighting had done immense damage to the economies of the two countries, apart from the loss of life and costly military equipment. Resources urgently needed for economic development that had been drained, and the defence budgets of the two countries had begun to mount again. Indians were, however, euphoric over the performance of the Indian armed forces, which recovered some of their pride, prestige, and self-confidence lost in the India-China war in 1962. Moreover, India as a whole emerged from the conflict politically stronger and more unified. There were also several other satisfactory aspects. The infiltrators had not succeeded in getting the support of Kashmiri people. And Indian secularism had passed its first major test since 1947–48: there was no communal trouble during the war; Indian Muslims wholeheartedly supported the war effort, and Muslims in the armed forces disappointed Pakistan by fighting bravely alongside their Hindu, Sikh, and Christian warriors.

Tashkent Agreement

Shastri became a national hero and a dominating political figure. Subsequent to the ceasefire agreement and under the good offices of the Soviet Union, General Ayub Khan, the President of Pakistan, and Shastri met in Tashkent in Soviet Union in January 1966 and signed the Tashkent Declaration. Under this Declaration, both sides agreed to withdraw from all occupied areas and return to their prewar August positions. In the case of India, this meant withdrawing from the strategic Haji Pir pass through which Pakistani infiltrators could again enter the Kashmir Valley and giving up other strategic gains in Kashmir. Shastri agreed to these unfavourable terms as the other option was the resumption of the mutually disastrous war, which would also have meant losing Soviet support on the Kashmir issue in the U.N. Security Council and in the supply of defence equipment, especially MIG planes, and medium and heavy tanks. The Tashkent Conference ended tragically. Shastri died of a sudden heart attack on 10 January in Tashkent, having served as prime minister for barely 19 months.

Check Your Progress

9. When was the official language Act passed?
10. Where and when did Nehru give the promise on continuing English as the primary language of communication to non-Hindi speakers?
11. Which political party led the anti-Hindi agitation in Tamil Nadu?
12. Who participated in the Tashkent negotiations on behalf of Pakistan?

9.6. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. Three general elections were in 1952, 1957, and 1962 during the Nehru Era.
2. According to Nehru, Agriculture, irrigation, electricity generation, huge multipurpose hydroelectric projects, and heavy industries are "the modern temples of India."
3. Homi Bhabha, S.S. Bhatnagar, Mahalanobis, and D. S. Kothari were the prominent Scientists during the time of Nehru.
4. In 1958, the Scientific Policy Resolution was introduced.
5. Articles 245–263 deal with the Centre–state relationship.
6. Union, Concurrent, and State lists. Union List: Union Government has exclusive powers in this list. Concurrent list: both Central and State together can implement powers. State list: State government has the rights to excise these powers.
7. Union Government enjoyed the residuary power.
8. Article 356 deals with State Emergency.
9. Official language Act was passed in 1963.
10. Nehru gave the promise to non-Hindi speakers in the Parliament on 7 August 1959.
11. The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam (DMK) led the anti-Hindi agitation in Tamil Nadu.

12. General Ayub Khan, the President of Pakistan, and Shastri met in Tashkent in Soviet Union in January 1966 and signed the Tashkent Declaration.

9.7. SUMMARY

- Nehru was the Prime Minister of India in 1947–1964.
- His vision and mission guided India became the Independent, sovereign, democratic, secular, and social republic that is today.
- Nehru laid the foundation for the Parliamentary democracy, formation of independent judiciary, creation of new Bureaucracy, and implementation of unique foreign policy.
- Nehru's vision on economy and his contributions towards science and technology is ever remembered.
- India is a union that consists of State and Union territories; hence, its relations with union government is noteworthy.
- Indian constitution Articles 245–263 deals with Central–state relations.
- The relationship is classified into three: legislative, Administrative, and Finance relations.
- Powers are classified into three: Union, State, and Concurrent lists.
- After the death of Nehru, Shastri came to power in 1964; he ruled for less than 2 years, during which time significant political events such as anti-Hindi agitations and Indo-Pak war took place.
- Anti-Hindi agitation broke out in 1965 after the completion of 15 years of Indian constitution.
- Non-Hindi speakers especially people from the south did not want to Hindi as their official language.
- Jawaharlal Nehru promised to non-Hindi speakers that Hindi will not be implemented as the primary communication.
- Official Language Act in 1963 upholds the promise of Nehru.
- However, the union government decided to implement Hindi as the only the official language on 26 January 1965.
- Followed by this, a series of agitations were carried out in non-Hindi areas, especially in Tamil Nadu.
- Finally, Shastri government withdrew its proposal and declared English as the associate official language of India.

9.8. KEY WORDS

Scientific Temper: The Scientific temper is a way of life which uses the scientific method and which may, consequently, include questioning, observing physical reality, testing, hypothesizing, analysing, and communicating. "Scientific temper" describes an attitude which involves the application of logic.
Official language commission: Official Languages Commission is a commission constituted by the President of India in pursuance to the provisions stated in the Article 344 of the Indian Constitution. This

commission was constituted on 7 June 1955 for the purpose of the progressive use of the Hindi language and Restrictions on the use of English language.

Official language Act 1963: An Act to provide for the languages which may be used for the official purposes of the Union, for transaction of business in the Parliament, for Central and State Acts, and for certain purposes in High Courts.

Financial Emergency: Article 360 deals with financial emergency. The President of India can declare financial emergency when the worst finance crisis takes place; so far this emergency never implemented in India.

State Emergency: Article 356 deals with State emergency. The President dissolved the state government due to failure of law and order. This emergency can remain in effect for a maximum period of 6 months.

National emergency: Article 352 deals with national emergency. It may be implemented during the time of external invasion and internal disturbances. Indira Gandhi implemented emergency once in 1975.

9.9. SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. Write a note on Parliamentary democracy.
2. Write a short note on Socialism.
3. What are the major subjects that were implemented by the Union government?
4. Write a note on residuary power.
5. Write a short note on Nehru's promise to non-Hindi Speakers regarding the official language.

Long Answer Questions

1. Write an essay on Nehru as the architect of modern India.
2. Critically analyze constitution provisions towards Centre–state relations.
3. Estimate Anti-Hindi Agitation.

9.10. FURTHER READINGS

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BLOCK IV: INDIRA GANDHI AND IMPORTANT LEADERS ROLES

UNIT-10- SPLIT IN THE CONGRESS

Structure

10.0. INTRODUCTION

Indira Gandhi was the only daughter of India's first Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and became the third Prime Mister of India in 1966 after the death of Lal Bahadur Shastri. Soon after assuming office, she faced several challenges within and outside the Congress, particularly the Syndicate wanted to control her in government activities and also severe famine, government employ strikes, and against cow-slaughter were considered as initial challenges. However, the 1967 elections gave some relief to Gandhi because most of the syndicate leaders including K. Kamaraj lost the election. The radical steps taken by Indira Gandhi especially bank nationalization and abolition of Privy Purses earned the popularity among the party workers and public. In 1969, President Election and its results split the congress and strengthened the hands of Gandhi. In the 1971 elections, Indira Gandhi enjoyed an overwhelming majority in the Parliament. Followed by the Indo-Pak war in 1971 enhanced the charisma of Gandhi. In this background, the present chapter discusses the early challenges faced by Indira Gandhi and how she consolidated her position within and outside the Congress.

10.1. OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson, you will be able to do the following:

- Discuss the election for the post of Prime Minister after the death of Shastri.
- Analyze early challenges faced by Mrs. Gandhi.
- Discuss 1967 election and its results.
- Trace the radical reforms made by Mrs. Gandhi.
- Analyze the 1969 presidential election and its results.
- Trace the India’s role in Second Indo-Pak war in 1971 for Bangladesh Independent.

10.2. INDIRA GANDHI

Indira Gandhi was born in a Kashmiri Pandit family on 19 November 1917 in Allahabad. She studied in a Swiss boarding school and later studied at Somerville College, Oxford. In March 1942, Indira married Feroze Gandhi, a Parsi lawyer, and she had two sons, Rajiv and Sanjay. She joined Congress in 1938, joined the Congress Working Committee in 1955, was reelected to the post in 1961, and was a member of the Central Election Committee of the Congress. She joined the Shastri Government in 1964 as Minister of Information and Broadcasting and succeeded him in 1966 after his unexpected death at Tashkent, Russia.

10.2.1. After Shastri

After the unexpected demise of Lal Bahadur Shastri, on 10 January, 1966, the search for his successor was on. There were seven aspirants for the post of India's third Prime Minister - Desai, Indira, Nanda, Chavan, S.K. Patil, Sanjiva Reddy, and Kamaraj. Kamaraj, for reasons better known to himself, withdrew from the contest. Desai insisted on a secret ballot. Finally, there was straight contest between Desai and Indira Gandhi. On 19 January 1966, a secret ballot was held in the meeting of Congress Parliamentary Party (CPP), in which Indira Gandhi secured 355 votes as against 169 for Desai. She became the first Woman prime minister of India on 24 January 1966.

10.2.2. Kitchen Cabinet

Indira Gandhi's 'Kitchen Cabinet' was the expanded version of the 'Back-benchers Club', formed during the Shastri years. "Her Kitchen Cabinet, a wheel within the wheel, comprised of Dinesh Singh, I.K. Gujral, Nandini Satpati, Urna Shankar Dikshit, D.P. Mishra, C. Subramaniam, Asoka Mehta, and Fakruddin Ali Ahmed. This 'nucleus of power' assisted and advised Indira Gandhi in crucial decision-making. They "urged a leftist ideological view on her"." She also relied heavily on the Prime Minister's Office (PMO), particularly on the services of her Principal Secretary L.K. Jha and later P.N. Haksar. The PMO "reached dizzy heights of power".

The country was reeling and languishing under severe food crisis.

Devastating droughts stalked the land. There were food shortages and famine conditions in several parts of the country. Inflation was on the rise and prices of commodities were spiraling. The economy was in recession. There was a shortage of foreign exchange. The cumulative effect of these frightening factors was the general popular unrest as was reflected in the rice riots in Kerala. Indira Gandhi had to face the wrath of the AICC at Jaipur and was criticized in the Parliament. She, in late March 1966, turned to the USA for help; she visited the USA aiming to get aids for food and foreign exchange without appearing to ask for them, "President Lyndon Johnson promised three million tons of food and nine million dollars in aid. At home, the system of procurement and distribution system were improved. The food crisis was tackled for the time being. The Prime Minister's US visit was hailed as a spectacular Success and was a major achievement for Indian democracy."

10.2.3. Devaluation of Rupee, June 1966

The economy of the country had reached the rock bottom. A conspiracy of circumstances, aggravated by war and drought, had brought the economic growth to a grinding halt. There was forex crisis and industrial capacity was rendered idle, resulting in retrenchment. Exports stopped. Small industry was hit hard. In short, the economy was in the brink of disaster. Since first-aid measures proved ineffective, Indira Gandhi decided to administer stronger medicine in “order to restore the nation to economic health".

But there were difficulties. The USA stipulated conditions to restore economic aid suspended during the Indo-Pak war in 1965. The World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMP) stipulated that the rupee be devalued. Indira Gandhi appointed a committee to consider the issue. The committee strongly supported devaluation. On the night of 6 June 1966, Indira Gandhi announced the devaluation of the rupee by a hefty 57.5%, which made her unpopular. The CWC denounced the decision. The Congress President Kamaraj was furious that he was not consulted and lamented over making her the Prime Minister. "A great man's daughter, a little man's great blunder". Nevertheless, Indira Gandhi proved that she was capable of taking unpopular decision.

10.2.4. Public Unrest

Monsoon failed again for the second consecutive year. The drought continued unabated. The promised US economic aid was slow to come and irregular. Drought coupled with devaluation ignited the volatile situation. There were agitations, demonstrations, and strikes by all walks of life. The agitations frequently turned violent, resulting in lathi charges and firings, damages, and death. These popular agitations climaxed in 7 November, 1966, when a trident-bearing mob of naked sadhus staged a demonstration in front of Parliament calling for an end of cow-slaughter. The anti-cow-slaughter demonstration degenerated into looting, arson, and violence. Six sadhus were killed in police firing. The demonstration brought forth nothing except confounding confusion.

Check Your Progress

1. Who contested against Indira Gandhi for the post of prime minister in 1966?
2. Who were the members of the so-called Kitchen Cabinet?
3. Who was the President of Congress when Gandhi came to power in 1966?
4. What were the causes for the popular agitation in 1966?

10.3. FOURTH GENERAL ELECTION

1966 was the year of turmoil, and 1967 may be called the year of elections, general elections and the election of the President of India. India's fourth general elections were held when the combined effects of the India-China war 1962, the Indo-Pak War 1965, the successive droughts of 1966 and 1967, and the extremely bad economic situation had aroused popular discontent against the Congress Party. Surrounded by opposition hostility and adversity, Indira Gandhi decided to directly appeal to the electorate. She chose Rae Bareilly, her husband Feroze Gandhi's constituency, instead of Phulpur, her father Nerhu's constituency, 10 test her strength. At 50, she stood for Parliament for the first time in the elections held at the twentieth anniversary of Indian independence.

The Congress Party was deeply divided by factions. The dissident groups had always been the bane of Congress. The Syndicate had become the sanctuary of the senile leaders. The young leaders were denied opportunities. The single-point agenda of the divided opposition was to somehow defeat the Congress. Neither Indira Gandhi nor the opposition leaders raised ideological or basic socioeconomic issues, the election being 'a means of political survival'. She presented populist solutions to India's pestering problems in all her campaigns.

India's fourth general election was held in February 1967. Indira Gandhi won by a comfortable majority but the syndicate stalwarts like Kamaraj, S.K. Patil, Atulya Ghosh, and C. Subramaniam were defeated. Morarji Desai, Indira's nemeses had been returned. The Congress secured 284 out of 520 seats, though its majority was reduced from 228 in 1962 to 48. The Congress also lost its majority in eight states—Kerala, Madras, Orissa, West Bengal, Bihar, Utter Pradesh, Rajasthan, and Punjab. At the national level, the CPI and CPI(M), the Swantantra Party and the Jan Sangh had improved their position. In the states, the parties—national and regional—entered into an incompatible alliance. "The election of 1967 forms a watershed in India because the voters for the first time showed concern for governmental performance". In a way, the elections were "a bad result for the Congress, but a good one for Indira Gandhi". She derisively referred to as 'this girl', 'dumb doll', 'this mere chokri', 'this little woman'; Indira Gandhi came to be called 'Mother Indira' since this election. The majority in the party was behind her.

Second Time Prime Minister

On 15 March, 1967, Indira Gandhi was sworn in as the Prime Minister for a second time. Now her position in the party and the government was much stronger as the Syndicate was truncated in size and status. She however

could not freely choose her cabinet and had to accommodate Morarji Desai as the Deputy Prime Minister with the Finance Portfolio, because of the waferthin majority in the Parliament. However, she made it clear that the Deputy PM not imply 'any duality of authority'. She dispensed with the system of rank cabinet ministers, instead they were alphabetically ordered rendering cabin, positions meaningless as indicators of future power line-ups.

10.3.1. Election for third President

After Indira Gandhi was reappointed as Prime Minister, she was self-assertive. When the Syndicate wanted the President Dr. S. Radhakrishnan to continue in office for the second time, the Prime Minister preferred Vice President Zakir Hussain for the post. The opposition put up Justice Subba Rao, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, who had resigned his post shortly before nomination day, as its candidate. Supported by Indira Gandhi, Zakir Hussain won with comfortable majority. V.V. Giri, a south Indian trade union leader, was elected Vice President. Their victory strengthened the hands of Indira Gandhi, weakened the Syndicate and sabotaged the opposition unity. Zakir Hussain was the first Muslim President of the Indian Republic.

In the elections for the party presidency, Indira Gandhi didi not favour the continuation of Kamaraj in the post but the Syndicate got its candidate Nijalingappa elected to the post. Indira Gandhi took offence. When the 'Young Turks" within the party accused Desai of conniving in the corruption of his son Kantibai, she did not defend her Finance Minister in Parliament. She ignored the directive of the CWC to rebuke the Young Turks either. The gulf between the Old Guard and Indira Gandhi widened.

10.3.2. Election for fourth President

On 3 May 1969, President Zakir Hussain died of cardiac failure. Indira Gandhi suggested Jagjivan Ram for the post, but the Congress President Nijalingappa, supported by the Syndicate, proposed Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy, Speaker of the Lok Sabha, as the official candidate. Indira Gandhi signed Reddy's nomination papers, but she allowed her supporters to vote according to their conscience! She tacitly extended support to V.V. Giri, the unofficial candidate. On 20 August 1969, V.V. Giri was elected President of India.

10.4. Bank Nationalization

From the beginning of 1968, the Syndicate, still headed by Kamaraj, strongly supported by the new Congress President Nijalingapa and the desperate Desai, “wanted to oust Indira". Her opponents in one voice unequivocally condemned the dismissal of non-Congress governments and the imposition of President's rule in West Bengal, Utter Pradesh, Bihar, and the Punjab, following the example of Kerala in 1959. Influenced by the 'kitchen cabinet' and egged on by the Young Turks, Indira Gandhi had taken a leftist ideological line.

In July 1967, in pursuance of Indira Gandhi's leftist stance her statement on the 'stray thoughts' on economic policy was read out at the

meeting of the Alec. These thoughts were based on her 10-point programme formulated in May 1967, which included social control of banking, a check on monopolies, the nationalization of general insurance, curbs on property, rapid implementation of land reforms, state control of food grains and exports, provision of house-sites to the rural poor, and the abolition of the former privileges and privy purses. On 16 July, she relieved Desai of the finance portfolio since he was opposed to bank nationalization. Four days later, fourteen commercial banks were nationalized by presidential ordinance.

Bank nationalization was a bold, deft, and shrewd political move. It was wholeheartedly greeted by the public. Farmers, traders, small businessmen, low-paid government and other employees, taxi and auto-rickshaw drivers, the unemployed, and others all welcomed this radical measure. The CPP endorsed the progressive programme. But the Government decision was criticized as "a political move designed to isolate, outflank, and defeat her inner party opponents". By nationalizing the private banks, "the Government controlled monopolizable savings and assisted the capitalist class to diversify their investments and products". "Bank nationalization was "a populist move ... clearly motivated by her drive for self-preservation as Prime Minister"." "Never had the people applauded any economic step as much as they did this one".

10.5. The Divide in the congress

The year 1969 was the year of the Divide in the Congress. The Congress, nearly a century old organization, suffered a serious and irreparable split in 1969. The 'unity' talks between the Syndicate and the 'Indicate'—the followers of Indira Gandhi—failed. On 1 November 1969, two separate CWC meetings were convened by the respective rival groups, one at the AICC headquarters at Jantar Mandar Road and the other at Indira Gandhi's residence at 1 Sabdarjang Road. The parallel meetings were represented by those who stood for status quo and conformism and those who were for radical socialism and change—a conflict between two diametrically opposite mindsets.

The Split

On 12 November 1969, the Syndicate found Indira Gandhi guilty of 1) creating a 'personality cult', 2) indiscipline and defiance of party leadership, and 3) her intention of selling India to the Soviet Union and expelled her from the party (13 Nov). Indira was furious and blamed the 'undemocratic and fascist persons' for the situation. A total of 297 MPs, of whom 220 from the Lok Sabha, supported Indira Gandhi. Besides 446 out of the 705 members of the AICC rallied behind her. The Congress Party was split. Thereafter, Indira Congress came to be called Congress (R)for Requisitionist and the Syndicate cabal as Congress (0) for Organization. "The split "has launched a new unprincipled era in Indian politics"." The 80-year-old Congress tottered and faltered.

10.6. The Results

As a result of the split, 1) Indira Gandhi lost her majority in both houses of Parliament; 2) She had become a Prime Minister in her own right; 3) transformed the Congress party into a radical organization. 4) heralded the triumph of the Parliamentary over the organizational wing of the party; 5) emboldened her to extend her control to the states beyond New Delhi; and 6) the party "degenerated into an unaudited company for winning elections".

10.7. Abolition of Privy Purses

The year 1970 witnessed dramatic developments. After the nationalization of banks, Indira Gandhi introduced a strong dose of radical reforms. The most dramatic and highly controversial of these reforms was the abolition of the purses and privileges of the former princes, which were guaranteed by the Constitution. Indira Gandhi sought to derecognize the princes through a constitutional amendment. In August 1970, the Amendment Bill was passed in the Lok Sabha by 339 to 154 votes, but it was defeated in the Rajya Sabha by one vote. Undeterred Indira Gandhi proceeded to abolish the privy purses of the princes through a presidential proclamation (6 September 1969). In December 1970, however, the Supreme Court invalidated both the ordinances and the bank nationalization law. However, Indira Gandhi's sweeping popular programmes of radical social change excited a mass response and public acclaim, though the rival Congress (0) and the Jan Sangh joined together to oppose the move.

10.8. Annual Five-year plans

The Indo-Pak War (1965), two successive years of drought (1965–66 and 1966–67), devaluation of currency (1966), rise in prices of essential commodities, and erosion of resources available for plan implementation derailed the fourth plan. Instead, three annual plans were formulated within the frame work of the draft outline of the fourth plan in between 1966 and 1969. Gandhi’s government made efforts to restore normalcy in the economy. Emphasis was laid on High-yielding Variety Programme (HYVP), minor irrigation projects, better seeds, etc. The primary focus was on the farm sector. Industrial capacity was better utilized. Consumer goods industries received close attention. As a result, the supply position with regard to food grains and other nonagricultural commodities improved. Prices declined. The national economy was stable.

Check Your Progress

5. When was the fourth general election held?
6. Which important syndicate leaders lost the fourth general election (1967)?
7. Who was responsible for banks nationalization and when did it happen?
8. When did the congress split and what were the names of two fractions?

10.9. The 1971 Elections

10.9.1. Dissolution of Lok Sabha

Though Indira Gandhi wielded "far greater power over both party and government than had been enjoyed by Jawaharlal Nehru", her party was in a minority in Parliament and depended on the outside support of the CPI, CPI(M), the DMK, Akali Dal, fev socialists, and some independents. So, on 27 December 1970, Indira Gandhi dissolved the Lok Sabha and called for elections in February 1971, one year in advance. She sought a fresh mandate from the people for her progressive programmes. The Supreme Court judgments on the bank nationalization case as well as the abolition of Privy Purses were said to be the reasons responsible for the midterm elections.

Indira Gandhi made the most of the 1971 election. Throughout January and February, she campaigned with conviction and courage. Unlike the previous elections, she had no strong party organization nor had the support of stalwart colleagues. Since the early midterm poll separated the parliamentary from the state assembly elections, the focus was on Indira Gandhi and her government's performance. In other words, the election would be a referendum on herself and her performance "Never had attention been so focused on one individual candidate".

Garibi Hatao

Virtually, the election was between Indira Gandhi and the so-called Grand Alliance, consisting of Congress (0), Jan Sangh, Swatantra, and the Samyukta Socialist Party (SSP). The grand alliance targeted Indira Gandhi. Its single-point election agenda was to defeat Gandhi at the hustings. 'Indira Hatao' (Remove Indira) was the slogan of the Grand Alliance. As a counterattack, Indira Gandhi came out with a more catchy blistering slogan 'Garibi Hatao' (remove poverty). Indira Gandhi's populist rhetoric clicked well with the people. The new slogan reverberated throughout the country. During the 8-week campaign, she shrewdly avoided personnel attacks on the opposition and highlighted national issues. In effect, Indira Gandhi successfully converted the election campaign into a people's movement.

Her carefully calibrated campaigns attracted the peasants, workers, women, middle classes, and the youth as never before.

10.9.2. The results

The election results were as expected. Indira Gandhi's party won 352 seats out of 518 Lok Sabha seats. The rival Congress (0) faced a humiliating defeat with a paltry 16 seats. The Swatantra Party was reduced from 44 to just 8 and the Jan Sangh from 35 to 22 seats. The grand alliance suffered a demeaning defeat. Among the opposition parties CPI (M), CPI, and DMK fared well. The election was a personal triumph for Indira Gandhi.

The 1971 election restored the Congress party to its dominant position in Indian politics, conferred the mandate she sought, endorsed the radical agenda for change and stability, proved that people would rally round national issues, and dashed the hopes of the status-quoists, and raised the expectations

of the poor. But the Bangladesh war shifted the attention of the nation from Garibi Hatao to Simla Summit in 1972.

10.10. INDO-PAK WAR (BANGLADESH INDEPENDENT) 1971

After the 1971 general elections, a major political-military crisis broke out in East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). India was inevitably drawn into the fray, leading to a bloody war between India and Pakistan.

Pakistan had been created around the ideological assumption that, because of their faith, the Muslims of India constituted a separate nation. But religion could not bring together the Punjabi-speaking part of West Pakistan and the Bengali-speaking East Pakistan. The West Pakistani political and economic elite soon acquired a dominant position in Pakistan's army, bureaucracy, economy, and polity resulting in economic and political discrimination against East Pakistan. Moreover, in the absence of political democracy, the Bengalis had no mechanism through which to remedy the situation. Consequently, over time, the people of East Pakistan developed a powerful movement for democracy in Pakistan and greater autonomy for East Pakistan. Instead of coming to terms with this movement, the ruling elite of Pakistan decided to suppress it and which ultimately transformed it into a movement for independence from Pakistan.

In December 1970, General Yahya Khan, the military dictator of Pakistan, held free elections in which Bengal's Awami Party under Sheikh Mujibur Rahman won more than 99% of the seats in East Bengal and an overall majority in Pakistan's National Assembly. But the army and Yahya Khan, backed by Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto, the leading politician of West Pakistan, refused to let the Awami Party form the government. When the latter started a civil disobedience movement to enforce the constitutional provision, in a sudden move on 25 March 1971, Yahya Khan ordered a military crackdown on East Pakistan. Mujibur Rahman was arrested and taken to an unknown destination in West Pakistan. The West Pakistan army initiated a reign of terror, killing innocent citizens, burning villages, and crops. Thousands of intellectuals and Bengali members of the police and army were indiscriminately but systematically eliminated in order to deprive the people of any leadership. For over 6 months, the army committed rape, torture, arson, brutal killings, and other heinous crimes. Large sections of the East Pakistan police, paramilitary organizations, and East Bengal regiments reacted by revolting. The Awami League leaders, who succeeded in escaping to Calcutta, formed a Government of Bangladesh in exile, organized the *Mukti Bahini* (Liberation Army), and launched a fierce underground movement and guerrilla warfare.

The brutality of the Pakistan army was directed against the remaining East Pakistani Hindus. They, along with a large number of Muslims, Christians, and Buddhists, were forced to migrate to and seek shelter in West Bengal, Assam, and Meghalaya in India. By November 1971, the number of refugees from East Bengal had reached 10 million.

In India, there was a wave of sympathy for the people of East Bengal and a strong demand for swift action against Pakistan. But, Indira Gandhi, though convinced that war with Pakistan was likely, opposed hasty action.

Throughout the crisis, she acted with immense courage but also with abundant caution calculation. She did not want to strengthen Pakistani propaganda that the entire movement for autonomy in East Pakistan and the consequent revolt was not a popular uprising but an Indian conspiracy**.**

Indira Gandhi realized that international opinion had to be educated and won over to the cause of Bangladesh and made aware of India's predicament in regard to the refugees and how they were placing an unbearable burden on India, endangering its economic and political stability.

For the next 8 months, Indira Gandhi followed a four-pronged policy. Not only did India give sanctuary to the Bangladesh government in exile, the Indian army gave military training on Indian soil and material aid in money and military equipment to the *Mukti Bahini*. The Indian government was also generous in providing food, clothing, shelter, and medical aid to the refugees in spite of its being a tremendous strain on India's resources. Almost from the outset in April 1971, the Indian armed forces began to prepare for swift military action, though in utmost secrecy, in case a peaceful solution of the refugee problem could not be found. Moreover, the military operation had to be swift and finished before the big powers succeeded in halting the conflict and imposing a ceasefire.

India's campaign received a very positive response from the media, the intelligentsia, and the students in the West and ultimately from the West European governments besides the people and the governments of the Soviet Union and other European Communist countries. But the governments of the United States and China adopted an unsympathetic and even hostile attitude towards India. Ignoring Indian protest, the USA continued to supply arms to Pakistan. It also tried to pose the problem of Bangladesh primarily as an issue between India and Pakistan rather than one of the Bangladesh's independence. China was fully supportive of Pakistan as it had become virtually its ally. In July–August 1971, Pakistan had helped to bring about a US-China detente. To secure itself against a possible US-China intervention in case events led to a war, on 9 August India swiftly signed a 20-year Indo-Soviet Treaty of Peace, Friendship, and Cooperation. The treaty provided for immediate mutual consultations and appropriate effective measures in case of either country being subjected to a military threat. The treaty was widely welcomed by people in India and gave a big boost to their morale.

India immediately recognized Bangladesh and gave a strong military reply. The Indian strategy was defend and the Pakistani forces in the western sector, while waging a short, swift, and decisive war in the east, forcing the Pakistani army there to surrender before the USA, China, or the UN could intervene. Brilliantly led by General J.S. Arora, the Indian army, joined by the *Mukti Bahini*, virtually ran through East Bengal and reached Dacca, its capital, within 11 days, and surrounded the Pakistani garrison there. Henry Kissinger, the U.S. Secretary of State, said that President Nixon was not inclined to let the Pakistan be defeated; the U.S. government tried to intervene, declaring India to be the aggressor and stopping all economic aid to it. But its two resolutions in the U.N. Security Council proposing a ceasefire and mutual troop withdrawals were vetoed by the Soviet Union, with Britain and France abstaining. The Chinese threat also did not materialize as it confined its intervention to bitter verbal denunciations. More or less in desperation and

reminiscent of the gunboat diplomacy of the nineteenth century, on Nixon's orders, segments of the U.S. Seventh Fleet, led by the nuclear aircraft carrier, U.S.S. Enterprise, set out for the Bay of Bengal on 9 December with the objective of forcing India to delay the fall of Dacca.

But Indira Gandhi ignored the American threat and, instead, asked General Manekshaw, India's Chief of Army Staff, to hasten India's military plan. The Indian armed forces surrounded Dacca on 13 December and forced the defeated and demoralized 93,000-strong Pakistan army in Bangladesh to surrender on 16 December. On 17 December, the Indian government announced a unilateral ceasefire on the western front. The continuation of the war would have been hazardous both on diplomatic and military grounds. The United States, China, and the UN were then likely to intervene more actively. The Soviet Union also did not favour further fighting. War on the western front would also have been very costly. While in the east, the people had welcomed Indian troops as saviours, and in the west, the people and the armed forces, still intact, would fight tenaciously to defend their homes and homeland. Moreover, continuation of hostilities in the western part would have been aimless, for after all disintegration of Pakistan or annexation of any part of it was not, and could not be, an objective of Indian policy. Pakistan readily accepted the ceasefire and released Mujibur Rahman, who came to power in Bangladesh on 12 January, 1972.

India had several gains to show from the Bangladesh war. The balance of power in South Asia had been altered with India emerging as the preeminent power. The grave refugee problem had been solved with the 10 million refugees being sent back to their homes in Bangladesh. The memory of the humiliating defeat in 1962 was wiped out and India's lost pride and self-respect restored. India had not only defeated a troublesome neighbour but also asserted its independence in foreign affairs and in defence of her national interest. India proved not to be a weak political entity on the world stage even if it was not yet a world power.

10.11. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. Lal Bahadur Shastri contested against Indira Gandhi for the post of prime minister in 1966.
2. Dinesh Singh, I.K. Gujral, Nandini Satpati, Urna Shankar Dikshit, D.P. Mishra, C. Subramaniam, Asoka Mehta, and Fakruddin Ali Ahmed were the members of the “Kitchen Cabinet”.
3. K. Kamaraj was the President of Congress when Gandhi came to power in 1966.
4. The following factors were responsible for the 1966 agitation: Failure of Monsoon, severe Drought, and nonavailability of the US aid on time.
5. The fourth general elections were held in 1967.
6. Kamaraj, S.K. Patil, Atulya Ghosh, and C. Subramaniam were the important syndicate leaders who lost the fourth general election.
7. Indira Gandhi was responsible for bank nationalization in 1969.
8. In 1969, the congress was split. Indira Gandhi’s congress was called

Congress R (Requisitionist) and the Syndicate congress was known as Congress O (Organization).

10.12. SUMMARY

- Indira Gandhi became the Prime Minister of India in 1966 after the death of Lal Bahadur Shastri.
- In the initial days, she faced many challenges from the syndicate leaders and general public.
- The 1967 election strengthened the hands of Gandhi and most of her political opponents were lost.
- After the election, Gandhi slowly and steadily consolidated her position both within party and in the government.
- However, in 1969, Indian President Zakir Hussein passed away and the country witnessed the President election.
- Indira Gandhi was indirectly against the official candidate of Congress, Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy. As the result, V.V. Giri, Vice-President of India won the election.
- Followed by this, the congress was divided into two: Indira's Congress was called Congress R and her opponent's was called Congress O.
- Indira Gandhi took some important decisions including bank nationalization and abolition of Privy Purses, which resulted in a strong support for her.
- The fifth general election was held in 1971, and in this election, Indira Gandhi not only emerged as victorious but also most of her enemies were voted out of power.
- In the 1971 Indo-Pak war, the Indian Army not only defeated Pakistani forces but also 95,000 Pakistani soldiers were arrested. This war earned name and fame both her party and even her enemy.

10.13. KEY WORDS

Syndicate: A group of individuals or organizations combined to promote a common interest. At the end of 1963, Congress leaders K. Kamaraj, the former Chief Minister of Madras, Sanjiva Reddy, an Andhra leader, Nijalingappa, the Chief Minister of Mysore, Atulya Ghosh, the president of Bengal Congress Committee, and Maharashtra leader SK Patil formed a powerful group known as the Syndicate. The Syndicate played a vital role in choosing the successor of Nehru and Shastri in 1964 and 1966, respectively.

Kitchen Cabinet: The Kitchen Cabinet was a term used by Indira's political opponents, and this ginger group officially or nonofficially involved in discussions with the rulers. During the time of Indira Gandhi, she held discussions with some of her colleagues such as Dinesh Singh, I.K. Gujral, Nandini Satpati, Urna Shankar Dikshit, D.P. Mishra, C. Subramaniam, Asoka Mehta, and Fakruddin Ali Ahmed.

Privy Purses: In India, a privy purse was a payment made to the ruling (royal or lower) families of erstwhile princely states as part of their agreements to first integrate with India in 1947. It was totally abolished

by Indira Gandhi.

Young Turks: During the time of Indira Gandhi, a group of Congress leaders who strongly believed in socialist ideology were called the Young Turks. Leaders like Jagjivan Ram and Chandra Shekhar were active members of in this group.

Garibi Hatao: Formerly known as Remove Poverty, which was the theme and slogan of Indira Gandhi's 1971 election campaign.

Awami League—It is a major political party in Bangladesh. This party, under the leadership of Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, launched the movement against Centralist Western Pakistan. Though the party won a large number of seats in Pakistan in the general elections held in 1970, the leaders of West Pakistan worked against Awami League and its leader. After Bangladesh became independent, Awami League became the first ruling party.

Mukthi Bahini—Also known as the Bangladesh Forces, it was a guerrilla resistance movement consisting of the Bangladeshi military, paramilitary, and civilians during the War of Liberation that transformed East Pakistan into Bangladesh in 1971.

10.14. SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. Write a note on food crisis during the early day of Gandhi.
2. Given an account on the Devaluation of Rupee.
3. Write a short note on Congress' split in 1969.
4. Discuss the fourth general election in 1969.
5. Write a note on China's stand on second Indo-Pak wars.

Long Answer Questions

1. Write an essay on the early challenges faced by Indira Gandhi.
2. Critically analyze the left-wing Ideology of Gandhi.
3. Trace the fifth general election held in 1971.

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UNIT-11-DECLARATION OF EMERGENCY

Structure

11.0. INTRODUCTION

In 1975, India witnessed a National level Emergency which tested India Democracy. Indira Gandhi wanted to save her political life through the emergency. During the time, most of her enemies were imprisoned, Fundamental Rights suspended, News Papers came under censorship, power of judiciary reduced through the constitution amendments, and non-congress governments were dissolved. The panic lasted for nearly 2 years. In the historic 1977 General Elections, Congress was voted out of power and opposition together formed the Janata government. Moraji Desai became the first non-congress Prime Minister. The basic objective of the Janata government was to restore democracy, civil liberty, and freedom of speech and expression. At the same time, Desai government took revenge against Indira Gandhi, by appointing an inquiry commission against her. In the meantime, a series of conflicts developed among the Janata leaders, and as the

result, Desai resigned in 1979 and Charan Singh became the new Prime Minister with the help of congress; however his government ended within a month and the Lok Sabha was dissolved. In this background, the present chapter discusses emergency and its results, the sixth general elections, formation and functioning of the Janata government, and the disintegration of Janata Party.

11.1. OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson, you will be able to:

- Trace the background of national emergency.
- Discuss India under emergency.
- Analyze the impact of emergency.
- Explain the rise and fall of the Janata government.

11.2. EMERGENCY

In 1975, India experienced its greatest political crisis since independence when Indira Gandhi declared emergency on 26 June. Many factors were said to be responsible for the declaration of emergency.

11.2.1. The Pre-emergency Crises

By early 1973, Indira Gandhi's popularity began to decline. People's expectations were unfulfilled. Little dent was being made in rural or urban poverty or economic inequality, nor was there any lessening of caste and class oppression in the countryside. The immediate provocation for the rising discontent was the marked deterioration in the economic situation. A combination of recession, growing unemployment, rampant inflation, and scarcity of foodstuffs contributed to the serious crisis. The burden of feeding and sheltering nearly 10 million refugees from Bangladesh during 1971 had depleted the grain reserves and, combined with the cost of the Bangladesh war, had led to a large budgetary deficit. The war had also drained the foreign exchange reserves. Monsoon rains failed for 2 successive years during 1972 and 1973, leading to a terrible drought in most parts of the country and a massive shortage of food grains and fuelling their prices. Power generation dropped and agricultural production fell and, therefore, there was a huge demand for manufactured goods, which led to industrial recession and rise in unemployment. The year 1973 also witnessed the notorious oil shock when world prices of crude oil increased four-fold leading to massive increase in the prices of petroleum products and fertilizers. This drained foreign reserves, further increased the budgetary deficit, and deepened economic recession. With all this, prices rose continuously, by 22% in 1972–73 alone. The price rise, which affected the poor and the middle classes alike, was accompanied by a scarcity of essential articles of consumption. There were food riots in several parts of the country.

Economic recession, unemployment, price rise, and scarcity of goods led to large-scale industrial unrest and a wave of strikes in different parts of the country during 1972 and 1973, culminating in an all-India railway strike in

May 1974. The railway strike lasted 22 days but was broken in the end. Gandhi's popularity among the workers was eroded further.

Law and order deteriorated, particularly during 1974–75. Strikes, student protests, and popular demonstrations often turned violent. Many educational institutions were closed for prolonged periods. In May 1973, there was a mutiny in Uttar Pradesh by the Provincial Armed Constabulary, which clashed with the army sent to discipline it, leading to the death of over 35 constables and soldiers.

11.2.2. Gujarat and Bihar Unrest

A major upheaval occurred in Gujarat in January 1974 when popular anger over the rise in the prices of food grains, cooking oil, and other essential commodities exploded in the form of a student movement. Soon the Opposition parties joined hands. For more than 10 weeks, the state faced virtual anarchy with strikes, looting, rioting and arson, and efforts to force MLAs to resign. The police replied with excessive force, indiscriminate arrests, and frequent recourse to lathi charge, and firing. By February, the central government forced the state government to resign, suspended the assembly, and imposed President's Rule in the state. The last act of the Gujarat drama was played in March 1975 when, faced with continuing agitation and a fast unto death by Morarji Desai, Indira Gandhi dissolved the assembly and announced fresh elections to it in June.

Inspired by the success of Gujarat agitation, a similar agitation was started by students in Bihar in March 1974. The students, starting with the gherao of the assembly on 18 March, repeatedly clashed with the overactive police, leading to the death of 27 people in 1 week. Moreover, as in Gujarat, Opposition parties quickly joined forces with the student agitators.

The Bihar movement was, however, characterized by two new features. Jayaprakash Narayan, popularly known as JP, came out from political retirement, took over its leadership, and gave a call for 'Total Revolution' or 'a struggle against the very system which has compelled almost everybody to go corrupt Demanding resignation of the Congress government in Bihar and dissolution of the assembly; he asked the students and the people to put pressure on the existing legislators to resign, paralyse the government, gherao the state assembly and government offices, set up parallel people's governments all over the state, and pay no taxes. The second feature was the firm refusal of Indira Gandhi to concede to the demand for the dissolution of the assembly, lest it spread to cover other parts of the country and the central government.

JP also decided to go beyond Bihar and organize a countrywide movement against widespread corruption and for the removal of Congress and Indira Gandhi, who was now seen as a threat to democracy and portrayed as the fountainhead of corruption.

JP now repeatedly toured the entire country and drew large crowds especially in Delhi and other parts of North India which were Jan Sangh or Socialist strongholds. The JP Movement attracted wide support from people from all walks of life. It was also backed by nearly all the nonleft political parties who had been trounced in 1971 and who saw in JP a popular leader

who would enable them to acquire credibility as an alternative to Congress. JP in turn realized that without the organizational structures of these parties, he could not hope to face Indira Gandhi either in the streets or at the polls.

It appeared at this stage that the issue as to who actually represented the Indian people would be resolved through the democratic electoral process. However, this was not to be. A sudden twist to Indian politics was given by a judgment on 12 June 1975, by Justice Sinha of the Allahabad High Court, on an election petition by Raj Narain, convicting Gandhi for having indulged in corrupt campaign practices and declaring her election invalid. The conviction also meant that she could not seek election to parliament or hold office for 6 years and therefore continue as prime minister.

Justice Sinha, many observed, had dismissed the more serious charges against her but had convicted her of technical and trivial, even frivolous, offences against the election law. Gandhi refused to resign and appealed to the Supreme Court. While the Supreme Court would hear her appeal on 14 July, Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer, the vacation judge of the Supreme Court, created further confusion when he decided on 24 June that till the final disposal of her appeal by the full bench of the Supreme Court, Gandhi could stay in office and speak in parliament but could not vote in it.

Meanwhile, Gandhi suffered another political blow when the Gujarat assembly election results were out on 13 June. The opposition Janata front won 87 seats and the Congress 75 seats in a house of 182. Surprisingly, the Janata front succeeded in forming a government in alliance with the same Chimanbhai Patel against whose corruption and maladministration the popular movement had been initiated.

The Allahabad judgment and the Gujarat assembly results revived the Opposition movement. JP and the coalition of Opposition parties were, however, not willing to wait for the result of Indira Gandhi's appeal to the Supreme Court or the general elections to the Lok Sabha due in 8 months. Trying to seize the opportunity, they accused Gandhi of clinging to an office corruptly gained and demanded her resignation, calling for a countrywide campaign to force the issue. In a rally in Delhi on 25 June, they announced that a nationwide one-week campaign of mass mobilization and civil disobedience to force Gandhi to resign would be initiated on 29 June. The campaign would end with the gherao of the prime minister's house by hundreds of thousands of volunteers. In his speech at the rally, JP asked the people to make it impossible for the government to function and once again appealed to the armed forces, the police, and the bureaucracy to refuse to obey any orders they regarded as 'illegal' and 'unconstitutional'. In the meantime, Gandhi met the President Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed to recommend national emergency; on 26th June in 1975, the President of India declared national level emergency under Article 352.

11.2.3. Declaration of Emergency

Gandhi proclaimed a state of Internal Emergency under Article 352 of the constitution on 26 June, suspending the normal political processes, but promising to return to normalcy as soon as conditions warranted it. The proclamation suspended the federal provisions of the constitution and Fundamental Rights and civil liberties. The government imposed strict censorship on the Press and stifled all protest and opposition to the government. In the early hours of 26 June, hundreds of the main leaders of the Opposition were arrested under the Maintenance of Internal Security Act (MISA). Among those arrested were Jayaprakash Narayan, Morarji Desai, and Atal Bihari Vajpayee, and Congress dissidents such as Chandra Shekhar along with many academics, people from the press, trade unionists, and student leaders were also put behind bars. Many of the arrested were gradually released: JP in 1975 on grounds of health and others, including Charan Singh and Vajpayee, during 1976. Several extreme communal and ultraleft organizations, including the RSS, Anand Marg, Jamaar-i-Islami, and Maoist CP(ML), were banned. Arrests continued throughout the period of the Emergency though most of the arrested were released after a few days or months. In all, more than 100,000 were arrested during a period of 19 months: Among those arrested were also a large number of antisocial elements such as smugglers, hoarders, black marketeers, and known goondas.

During the Emergency, parliament was made utterly ineffective. The opposition of a few brave MPs, who had not been arrested, was nullified as their speeches were not permitted to be reported in the Press. The state governments were rigidly controlled. The two non-Congress governments of DMK in Tamil Nadu and Janata in Gujarat were dismissed in January and March 1976 despite being quite compliant. The Congress chief ministers of Uttar Pradesh and Orissa were replaced because they were seen unrealiable. The Congress party was also strictly controlled. Internal democracy within the party was almost completely snuffed. From the second half of 1976, the Youth Congress led by Sanjay Gandhi gained more importance than the parent organization.

11.2.4. Absolute Power

A series of decrees, laws, and constitutional amendments reduced the powers of the judiciary to check the functioning of the executive. The Defence of India Act and MISA were amended in July 1975 to the detriment of the citizens' liberties. In November 1976, Indira tried to change the basic civil libertarian structure of the constitution through the 42nd Amendment. Putting an end to the judicial review of a constitutional amendment, because the judiciary was said to be obstructing pro-poor socioeconomic measures such as land reform legislation in the name of defending Fundamental Rights, it was laid down that there would be no limitation whatever on the power of parliament to amend the constitution. Fundamental Rights were indirectly emasculated by being made subordinate to an expanded version of the Directive Principles of State Policy embodied in the constitution.

Thus, the Emergency concentrated unlimited state and party power in the hands of the prime minister to be exercised through a small coterie of politicians and bureaucrats around her.

11.2.5. Twenty-point Programme

On 1 July, 1975, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, in her broadcast to the nation, announced her programme of economic reforms, which contained the following 20-point programme:

1. Steps to bring down the prices of essential commodities, streamlining of procurement and distribution of essential commodities, and strict economy in government expenditure.
2. Implementation of agricultural land ceilings and speedier distribution of surplus land and compilation of land records.
3. Stepping up of provision of house sites for the landless and weaker sections.
4. Abolition of bonded labour,
5. Liquidation of rural indebtedness.
6. Review of laws of minimum agricultural wages and their increase.
7. More water for irrigation.
8. An accelerated power programme.
9. Production of more Khadhi and development of handloom sector.
10. Improvement in quality and supply of people's cloth.
11. Socialisation of urban and urbanisable land. Ceiling on ownership and possession of vacant land.
12. Prevention of tax evasion.
13. Special legislation for the confiscation of properties of smugglers.
14. Liberalization of investment procedures.
15. New schemes for the association of workers with industry.
16. Better road transport.
17. Income tax relief.
18. Cheaper goods for students.
19. Books and stationery at control prices.
20. New apprenticeship schemes to increase employment and training, especially of weaker sections.

To this 20-point programme, Indira Gandhi added five more items of national priority: 1) National fitness; 2) Family Planning; 3) Afforestation; 4) Child welfare; and 5) Urban development.

In July 1976, Sanjay put forward his four points, which gradually became more important than the official 20 points. The four points were the following:

1. Do not take dowry at the time of marriage.
2. Practice family planning and limit families to only two children.
3. Plant trees.
4. Promote literacy.

Sanjay Gandhi was also determined to beautify the cities by clearing slums and unauthorized structures impeding roads, bazaars, parks, monuments, etc.

The 20-point programme was claimed to be an attempt to reach out towards long-cherished ideals and to mobilize India's vast reservoir of human and material resources for national reconstruction and development. It was a call for collective action to create a new India free from want and exploitation. The programme was expected to be a turning point in the country's history, heralding a big leap forward in pursuit of the national objective of a dynamic, self-reliant socialist society. The 20-point programme was Indira Gandhi's pledge to the nation and she was determined to implement it.

11.2.6. Public Response to the Emergency

While a section of the intelligentsia reacted to the Emergency with marked hostility, the large majority of the people initially responded to it with passivity, acquiescence, acceptance, or even support. It was only from the beginning of 1976 that the Emergency started becoming unpopular. Many reasons are attributed to this delayed reaction. For one, people had no experience in recent memory, that is, since independence, of an authoritarian rule. There was bewilderment as also personal fear of the unknown. Moreover, apart from the arrest of Opposition leaders, the repressive measures were almost entirely directed either against antisocial elements or against the extremely communal right or the minuscule far left, who had enjoyed little popular support before the Emergency and who were in any case known to be averse to democracy. Even though as many as 10,000 people were arrested initially, many of the detenus were released within a short span of time. Above all, a large number of people were impressed by the positive outcome of some of the well-publicized Emergency measures most of which could, of course, have been taken without an Emergency.

With the restoration of public order and discipline, many felt relieved that the country had been saved from disorder and chaos. There was less crime in the cities; gheraos and uncontrolled, often violent, demonstrations came ended; there was a perceptible lessening of tension in the air; and there was calm and tranquility on the campuses as students and teachers went back to classrooms. Inder Malhotra, a perceptive journalist, was to write later: 'The return of normal and orderly life, after relentless disruption by strikes, protest marches, sit-ins, and clashes with the police, was applauded by most people ...' In its initial months at least, the Emergency restored to India a kind of calm it had not known for years.

There was also an immediate and general improvement in administration, with government servants coming to office on time and being more considerate to the public. Quick, dramatic, and well-publicized action was taken against smugglers, hoarders, black marketeers, illegal traders in foreign currency, and tax evaders, with several thousands of them arrested under MISA. There was a major, dramatic improvement in the economy, though only some of it was really due to steps taken under the Emergency, some of it being the result of excellent rains and some of the policies initiated much before the Emergency. Most welcome was the dramatic improvement in the price situation. Prices of essential goods, including foodstuffs, came down and their availability in shops improved.

Popular hopes were raised and the Emergency made more palatable by the announcement on 1 July of the omnibus 20-Point Programme by Gandhi, its edge being the socioeconomic uplift of the vast mass of the rural poor. The programme promised to liquidate the existing debt of landless labourers, small farmers, and rural artisans and extend alternative credit to them, abolish bonded labour, implement the existing agricultural land ceiling laws, and distribute surplus land to the landless, provide house sites to landless labourers and weaker sections, revise upwards minimum wages of agricultural labour, provide special help to the handloom industry, bring down prices, prevent tax evasion and smuggling, increase production, streamline distribution of essential commodities, increase the limit of income tax exemption to Rs 8,000, and liberalize investment procedures.

11.2.7. Towards Ending the Emergency

Within a few months, however, the people started getting disillusioned with the Emergency. Popular discontent from mid-1976 reached its peak 6 months later.

There are many reasons. Relief to the people did not last long. Economic growth of the first year of the Emergency did not sustain. Agricultural output declined; prices rose by 10% by the end of 1976. The corrupt, black marketeers and smugglers resumed their activities as the shock of the Emergency wore off. The poor were disenchanted with the slow progress in their welfare and workers were unhappy because of limits on wages, bonus and dearness allowance, and restrictions on the right to strike. Government servants and teachers became discontented because they were being disciplined in their workplaces and in many cases were being forced to fulfill sterilization quotas.

11.2.8. Election in 1977

On 18 January 1977, Gandhi suddenly announced that elections to the Lok Sabha would be held in March. She also simultaneously released political prisoners, removed press censorship, and other restrictions on political activity such as holding of public meetings. Political parties were allowed to campaign freely. The elections were held on 16 March in a free and fair atmosphere, and when the results came in, it was clear that Congress had been thoroughly defeated. Both Indira Gandhi and Sanjay Gandhi lost their seats. Gandhi issued a statement accepting the verdict of the people with 'due humility'.

Check Your Progress

1. When was the All-India Railways strike organized?
2. Who pronounced Total Revolution?
3. Who filled the election petition against Indira Gandhi?
4. Who delivered the judgment against Indira Gandhi which was ultimately responsible for the emergency?
5. Who was the president of India when emergency was declared?
6. When was the 42nd Amendment passed?

11.3. RISE OF JANATA

Immediately after coming out of the jails in January 1977, the Opposition leaders announced the merger of Congress (O), the Jan Sangh, Bharatiya Lok Dal (BLD), and the Socialist Party into the new Janata Party. The Congress was dealt a blow by the sudden defection from it on 2 February 1977 of Jagjivan Ram, H.N. Bahuguna, and Nandini Satpathy who formed the Congress for Democracy (CFD). Along with the DMK, Akali Dal, and CPM, it forged a common front with the Janata Party in order to give a straight fight to Congress.

11.3.1. Results of sixth general Election

The Opposition front made the Emergency and its excesses, especially forced sterilizations and the restriction of civil liberties, the major issues of its election campaign. The people viewed the elections as a referendum on the Emergency. With the popular upsurge in favour, the Janata Party and its allies won 330 out of the 542 seats. Congress trailed far behind with only 154 seats, with the CPI, its ally, getting 7 seats and the AIADMK 21 seats. Congress was virtually wiped out in North India; it won only 2 out of 234 seats in seven northern states. Both Indira Gandhi and Sanjay were defeated. The electoral verdict was, however, mixed in western India. Surprisingly in the South, where the Emergency had been less vigorous, and the pro-poor measures of the 20-Point Programme better implemented, Congress improved its performance, winning 92 seats in place of 70 in 1971. Janata won only 6 seats in the four southern states. The CFD merged with the Janata Party immediately after the elections. There was a near-crisis over the issue of prime-ministership between the three aspirants, Morarji Desai, Charan Singh, and Jagjivan Ram. The matter was referred to the senior leaders, Jayaprakash Narayan and J.B. Kripalani, who ruled in favour of the 81-year-old Desai, who was sworn in as prime minister on 23 March.

11.3.2. Dissolution of Congress Government

One of the first steps taken by the new government was to try to consolidate its hold over the states. Arguing that in those states where Congress had lost in the national elections, it had also lost the mandate to rule even at the state level, the government dismissed nine Congress-ruled state governments, and ordered fresh elections to their state assemblies. In the assembly elections, held in June 1977, Janata and its allies came out victorious in these states except in Tamil Nadu where AIADMK won. In West Bengal, the CPM, a Janata ally, gained an absolute majority. Control over both parliament and the state assemblies enabled the Janata Party to elect unopposed its own candidate, N. Sanjeeva Reddy, as the President of the Union in July 1977.

11.3.3. Restoration of democracy

The Janata government took immediate steps to dismantle the authoritarian features of the Emergency regime and to restore liberal democracy. It restored Fundamental Rights and full civil liberties to the Press, political parties and individuals. Through the 44th Constitutional Amendment, the Janata government also modified the 42nd Amendment passed during the Emergency, repealing those of its provisions which had distorted the constitution. The right of the Supreme Court and High Courts to decide on the validity of central or state legislation was also restored.

11.3.4. The Shah Commission Inquiry

The Janata Government was concerned more about punishing Indira Gandhi for all her sins of commission and omission during the dark days of Emergency than governing the country. The Government appointed a Commission of Inquiry under J.C. Shah, retired Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. The purpose of the commission was to inquire into excesses, malpractices, and misdeeds committed during the Emergency. Hundreds of people testified. Within days of the commencement of the commission's hearings, on 3 October, Indira Gandhi was arrested, handcuffed, and locked up at Delhi's Police Lanes. But the Magistrate released her unconditionally. After 3 months, on 9 January 1978, she was forced by a summon to face J.C. Shah at Patiala House. The Shah Commission hearings were closed on 20 February 1978.

The three-volume Shah Commission Report was an indictment of Indira Gandhi, Sanjay Gandhi, and emergency excesses. The prolonged Shah Commission inquiry, perceived by the public as a vindictive act of a hostile government, served only to increase the popularity of Indira Gandhi. The inquiry was counter-productive. The entire effort was an exercise in futility. "In the end, the Shah Commission proved largely pointless exercise”.

11.3.5. Asoka Mehta Committee, December 1977

The Janata Party, committed to the decentralization of power, appointed in December 1977, the Committee on Panchayat Raj Institutions, under the chairmanship of Asoka Mehta to suggest measures to strengthen the local bodies. The Committee submitted its Report in August 1978, making close to a hundred recommendations. The committee strongly supported decentralization of administration. The most momentous recommendation was for the creation of a two-tier system of Panchayat Raj instead of the three-tiered one, which was in vogue as recommended by the Balwantrai Mehta Report (1957).

The Committee regarded the revenue district as the first point of decentralization below the State level. The Committee had also made specific recommendations about the composition of the various tiers of Panchayat Raj. The Committee wanted these institutions to have 'compulsory powers of taxation' to mobilize the necessary resources on their own. Significantly, the Mehta Report recommended 'open participation' of political parties in

Panchayat Raj affairs. The Report also dealt with the election to these bodies, institutional safeguards for weaker sections, and state control over Panchayat Raj. The Asoka Mehta Committee recommendations were faulted on several grounds, particularly its recommendation "in favour of the two-tier pattern of Panchayat Raj is of a retrograde nature".

11.3.6. Time Capsule

The Janata leaders unreleased uninterrupted campaign of calumny, mixing facts with fantasy, against Indira Gandhi. They then exploited the murky atmosphere and created by gossip, rumour, and innuendo to gain political and personal leverage. One such vicious and vindictive propaganda was about the Time Capsule. The Janata leaders charged Indira Gandhi with falsification of history to magnify Nehru and her own roles as leaders of India's Independence, at the expense of others! They alleged that Indira did this through 3 capsules interred in Delhi: I) a Gandhi capsule in Birla House; 2) the Nehru capsule near Shantivan; and 3) a time capsule near the Red Fort, on 15 August 1973, the 8th anniversary of Nehru's death. It was the Time Capsule which gave the Janata the big stick to attack Indira Gandhi.

Earlier, 22 MPs, including A.S. Vajpayee and L.K. Advani, attempted to unearth the Time Capsule. When the Janata came to power, Era Sethian of DMK, now in Janata camp, raised the issue in Parliament. The Time Capsule was dug up on 8 December 1971 and was placed in the custody of a Parliamentary subcommittee. On examination, it was found than the capsule contained copies of the constitution in different languages, two coins, miniature models of Vijayanta tanks, and a 10,000-word mini-history. The history was written by Dr. S. Krishnaswamy, Professor of History at the Madras Christian College, at the behest of the Indian Council of Historical Research. It was nothing but a chronological sequence of events and did not in any way eulogized Nehru or Indira Gandhi as alleged by the Janata leaders. Their irresponsible allegations were exposed.

11.3.7. Economic Policy

Morarji Desai Government was committed to 'Gandhian Socialism'. The Janata Government attempted to take a quantum leap from the 'commanding height' industrial progress to decentralized rural development. The new non-Congress Prime Minister was determined to set new standards in political morality and economic welfare. The Asoka Mehta Committee was appointed with this objective. Instead of industry-oriented growth, labour intensive small-scale village industries were encouraged. Similarly, centralized planning was replaced by a decentralized economy. Agriculture received subsidies. Land revenue was reduced. Employment was provided to rural unemployed through 'Food for Work' programme. Resources were allocated to improve rural infrastructure such as roads, school buildings, safe drinking water, and rural health, etc. The Janata economic policy was a timely Course correction to the state-controlled command economy. It was an incredible innovative step in the right direction.

11.3.8. Rolling Plan

The Janata Government wanted to be different from its Congress predecessors. It attempted to introduce the new concept of Rolling Plan. The plan was put into practice with effect from 1 April, 1978. Under this Janata variation of planning, Five-year Plans will continue to be formulated on a five-year basis, but plan targets and resource allocation, etc., will be revised every year, based on sectoral performance. The Rolling Plan was time bound. But the Rolling Plan could not take off because the Janata Government was ousted from power in 1980. "The Janata Government wasted a unique opportunity to build a truly federal and decentralized structure of power and authority, bolstered by necessary policy correctives to fulfill people's expectations and channelize them towards a new pattern of development".

11.3.9. Demonitisation, January 1978

The New Year witnessed the demonitisation of higher value notes. On 16 January, 1978, an ordinance was issued, demonitising the bank notes of Rs.1,000, 5,000, and 10,000 issued by the Reserve Bank of India. This measure was aimed to serve the limited purpose of checking illegal transactions. High denomination notes could be used for smuggling, black-marketing, or for political purposes. Demonitisation was welcomed by all political parties and the public as a step in the right direction. It was expected that this measure will raise the value of money and thereby lower the prices of commodities.

11.3.10. Alexander Committee

The Janata Government was keen on improving and strengthening foreign trade. It wanted to bring about comprehensive changes in import–export policies, procedures, and programmes. A committee of eminent economic experts and administrators headed by P.C. Alexander was appointed. Known as the Alexander Committee, it recommended that (1) all items for which no specific policy had been laid down in the Red Book should be imported under the Open General Licence; (2) a shift from controls to development in the import regime; and (3) the Chief Controller of Imports and Experts be redesignated as Director General of Foreign Trade. Most of the recommendations were implemented. This led to a new policy of trade liberalization and laid the foundation for a new import–export regime later.

11.3.11. Janata Party in Crisis

Holding the party together seems to have been a major preoccupation of the Janata leaders. Already disintegrating by the end of 1977, by 1978–79, the government, lacking all direction, was completely paralyzed by the constant bickering and infighting in the party both at the Centre and in the states. Each political component tried to occupy as much political and administrative space as possible. In the ideological sphere, the Jan Sangh tried to promote its communal agenda via textbooks and recruitment to the official media,

educational institutions, and the police. The Janata Party remained a coalition of different parties and groups and was a victim of factionalism, manipulation, and personal ambitions of its leaders. The different constituents were too disparate historically, ideologically, and programmatically, bound only by an anti-Indira Gandhi sentiment and the desire for power.

11.3.12. The Revival of the Congress

In the meantime, the Congress witnessed both a split and a revival. Feeling that Indira Gandhi was not only a spent force but also, much worse, a serious political liability, a large number of established Congress leaders, led by Y.B. Chavan and Brahmanand Reddy, turned against her. She, in turn, split the party in January 1978, with her wing being known as Congress (I) (for Indira), and the other later as Congress (U) (for Devraj Urs).

Thereafter, Indira Gandhi's political fortunes began to revive, and in the February 1978 elections to state assemblies, Congress (I) defeated both Janata and the rival Congress in Karnataka and Andhra.

Prime Minister without Parliament

The factional struggle in the Janata government and the party worsened in the middle of 1979. Charan Singh, the Home Minister, was forced to resign from the cabinet in June 1978 but was then brought back as Finance Minister in January 1979. He broke up the party and the government in July with the help of the Socialists, who walked out of the party and the government on the refusal of the Jan Sangh members to give up their dual membership of the Janata Party and the RSS. Having been reduced to a minority, Morarji Desai's government resigned on 15 July. A week later, Charan Singh formed the government in alliance with the Chavan-wing of Congress (U) and some of the Socialists and with the outside support of Congress (I) and the CPI. But he never got to face parliament as, on 20 August, a day before the confidence vote, and Indira Gandhi withdrew her support after Charan Singh rejected her demand for the scrapping of special courts set up to prosecute her. On Charan Singh's advice, the President dissolved the Lok Sabha and announced midterm elections. The elections were held in January 1980, and with this Non-Congress rule came to an end.

Check Your Progress

7. Which political parties merged with Janata in 1977?
8. Who was the first non-congress Prime Minister?
9. Why was the Shah commission appointed?
10. Who was the Indian Prime Minister who did not face the parliament?

11.4. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. All-India Railways strike was held in May 1974. The strike lasted 22 days but was broken in the end.
2. Jayaprakash Narayan, popularly known as JP, gave a call for 'Total Revolution' or 'a struggle against the corrupt government.
3. Raj Narain filed the election petition against Indira Gandhi.
4. Justice Sinha delivered the judgment against Indira Gandhi, which ultimately was responsible for the emergency.

5. Fakhruddin Ali Ahmed was the president of India when emergency was declared.
6. In 1976, the 42nd Amendment was passed. It was called the miniconstitution.
7. In January 1977, the Opposition leaders announced the merger of Congress (O), the Jan Sangh, Bharatiya Lok Dal (BLD), and the Socialist Party into the new Janata Party.
8. Moraji Desai was the first non-congress Prime Minister.
9. The Government appointed a Commission of Inquiry under J.C. Shah, retired Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in 1977. The purpose of the commission was to inquire into excesses, malpractices, and misdeeds committed during the Emergency by Gandhi.
10. Charan Singh was the Prime Minister who did not face the parliament.

11.5. SUMMARY

- After 25 years of Independence, a historical event took place in India in the name of emergency.
- Emergency was declared by Gandhi in 1975 to control the political unrest that prevailed in 1975 after the Allahabad High Court pronounced Judgment against Indira Gandhi.
- Since 1972, unrest prevailed across the country; particularly railway strikes in 1974, failure of law and order in Uttar Pradesh in 1973, and unrest in Gujarat and Bihar were responsible for the national emergency.
- During the time of emergency, all the political opponents of Gandhi were imprisoned and non-congress governments were dissolved. The press was under strict censorship.
- Indira Gandhi declared the 20-point programme to attract the people.
- Common people expressed a mixed response to emergency.
- In the beginning of 1977, emergency provisions were withdrawn and leaders were released from the jail. The sixth general election was conducted in a free and fair manner.
- Congress was voted out of power; a new political alliance by opposition leaders (Janata) came to power, and Morarji Desai became the first non-congress Prime minister.
- Janata Government wanted to ensure democracy, freedom of speech and expression, and civil liberty across the country.
- Janata government took the action against Indira Gandhi and appointed several inquiry commissions against Gandhi.
- However, Indira Congress was revived in 1978; it won the Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh elections.
- In 1979, differences and conflicts developed within the Janata party; leaders such as Charan Singh revolted against Desai; and finally Desai quit from the office and Janata became split.
- Charan Singh became the Prime Minister with the help of congress; however, his government did not complete 30 days.

- President dissolved the sixth Lok Sabha and the 7th general elections were held in 1980.

11.6. KEY WORDS

Provincial Armed Constabulary: Uttar Pradesh Provincial Armed Constabulary or Pradeshik Armed Constabulary is an armed police of Uttar Pradesh. It is maintained at key locations across state and active only on orders from the deputy inspector general and higher-level authorities.

Gherao: Gherao, meaning "encirclement", is a word which denotes a tactic used by labour activists and union leaders in India, and it is similar to picketing. Usually, a group of people would surround a politician or a government building until their demands are met or answers given.

MISA: It was a controversial law passed by the Indian parliament in 1971 giving the administration of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Indian law enforcement agencies very broad powers—indefinite preventive detention of individuals, and search and seizure of property without warrants. It was effectively used during the time of emergency.

Afforestation: It is the process of planting trees, or sowing seeds, in barren lands devoid of any trees to create a forest. The term was encouraged by Sanjay Gandhi during the time of emergency.

Time Capsule: A time capsule is a historic cache of goods or information, usually intended as a deliberate method of communication with future people and to help future archaeologists, anthropologists, or historians.

Demonitisation: It is the act of stripping a currency unit of its status as legal tender. It occurs whenever there is a change of national currency: The current form or forms of money is pulled from circulation and retired, often to be replaced with new notes or coins. It was introduced in 1978.

Socialists: Socialism is a range of economic and social systems characterized by social ownership of the means of production and workers' self-management, as well as the political theories and movements associated with them. Nehru and Gandhi implemented the concept of socialism.

11.7. SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. Write a note on the causes for National Emergency.
2. Give on account on the role of Jayaprakash Narayan at the time of Emergency.
3. Briefly explain Sanjay’s four points.
4. Discuss the importance of sixth general elections and results.
5. Write a short note on Shah Commission.

Long Answer Questions

1. Critically analyze national emergency and its results.
2. Write an essay on the 20-point programme of Gandhi.
3. Critically analyze the rise and fall of Janata Party.
4. Estimate the economic conditions during 1971–79.

11.8. FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT-12-RE-EMERGENCE OF INDIRA GANDHI

Structure

12.0. INTRODUCTION

In 1980, Indira Gandhi once again became Prime Minister with a massive mandate. After assuming the office, she met personal and political crisis, particularly the death of her younger son, Sanjay. Assam crisis and unrest in Punjab also threatened the life of Gandhi. After the Blue Star operation, Gandhi was assassinated by her own bodyguards. Rajiv Gandhi succeeded and consolidated his position through elections. He introduced six technology missions programme, new education policy, and passing of 52nd Constitutional Amendment. He always emphasized cleanliness in politics; however, some scandals paved way for the fall of his decline. This chapter will discuss the second coming of Gandhi and the reign of Rajiv years.

12.1. OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson, you will be able to

- Analyze the revival of Gandhi.
- Discuss Operation Blue Star and its impact.
- Trace the early life of Rajiv Gandhi and as Prime Minister.
- Explain new education policy.
- Estimate the economic and science & technology policies.

12.2. THE 1980 ELECTION

After the dissolution of Parliament on 22 August 1979, seventh Lok Sabha elections were held in January 1980. For Indira Gandhi, this election was the last and most arduous ordeal for survival. She contested from Rae Bareilly (UP) and Medak in Andhra Pradesh. The discredited and self-destroyed Janata Party was fractured beyond repairs. The main contest was between Charan Singh, the Jat leader; Jagjivan Ram, the Harijan hero; and Indira Gandhi, the national stalwart. Janata leaders appealed to the people to save India from the mother and the son, still beating the dead snake of Emergency excesses and threat to democracy, if she returned to power. On the other hand, Indira Gandhi promised stability and a strong government. Her slogan “Bring back Indira and save the country” (*Indira lao; desh bachao*) swayed the people.

The electorate once again reposed faith on Indira Gandhi and gave a massive mandate to Congress (I). The party secured 351 out of the 542 Lok Sabha seats. The victory was more spectacular in terms of the number of seats she won for the vote share of 42%. The party had won more than a two-thirds majority of the seats. This was the biggest majority ever held by a party in the Lok Sabha. Charan Singh's Lok Dal and Jagjivan Ram's Janata were decimated and relegated to the second and third places, respectively.

After having been out of office for thirty-four months, Indira Gandhi was once again the prime minister and Congress was restored to its old position as the dominant party. Following the wrong precedent set up by the Janata government in 1977, the Congress government dissolved the nine state assemblies in the opposition-ruled states. In the assembly elections, subsequently held in June, Congress swept the polls except in Tamil Nadu. It now ruled 15 of the 22 states.

Sanjay Gandhi's death while flying a stunt plane on 23 June 1980 weakened her. She tried to fill his place with her elder son, Rajiv Gandhi, who was brought into politics, got elected as an MP, and then appointed as the general secretary of the party in 1983.

Like the first one, a major weakness of Indira's second prime ministerial innings was the continuing organizational weakness of Congress and her failure to rebuild it and strengthen its structure. This inevitably affected the performance of the government and its popularity, for a weak party structure meant the choking of channels through which popular feelings could be conveyed to the leadership and the nature and rationale of government policies explained to the people.

While facing hardly any challenge at the Centre from Opposition parties, from the beginning of her second prime ministership, Indira Gandhi faced certain intractable problems arising out of communal, linguistic, and caste conflicts; none of these were dealt with firmly. Communalism grew stronger because of the momentum it gained during 1977–79. Its overt manifestation was communal riots, which spanned all the years from 1980 to 1984 and beyond which began to engulf even South India.

Similarly, atrocities on the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes continued as they began to assert their social and constitutional rights. However, administrative and judicial action, which included long terms of imprisonment, was taken in some cases against the perpetrators of the atrocities.

Though hesitatingly, India once again resumed its tasks of planning and economic development, with greater financial allocations. The government was noting the changes in world economy and their impact on India and initiated measures while making efforts to strengthen the public sector. These measures would later come to be known as economic liberalization. But, the government proceeded very gradually and hesitatingly because Indira Gandhi was worried about the role of multinational corporations in eroding India's self-reliance. The government, however, succeeded in raising the rate of economic growth to over 4% per year, with a large increase in agricultural and petroleum crude production, and in gradually bringing down the rate of inflation to 7% in 1984.

Indira Gandhi's government also achieved some success in foreign policy. In March 1983, India hosted the seventh summit of the Non-Aligned Movement with Indira Gandhi as its chairman. As formal leader of the Non-Aligned Movement, she actively worked for a new international economic order that would be more fair to the developing countries.

When on 26 December, 1979, the Soviet Union sent its troops into Afghanistan to help its beleaguered government, Gandhi refused to condemn the action but, at the same time, she advised the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan as quickly as possible. She, however, opposed the indirect intervention of the USA and Pakistan in Afghanistan's civil war. Gandhi's stand on the Afghanistan issue was determined by India's long-term friendship and 'special' relationship with the Soviet Union and India's strategic interest in preventing Afghanistan from having an administration hostile to India.

Indira Gandhi tried to improve India's relations with the US despite its tilt towards Pakistan. She also tried to normalize relations with China and Pakistan, in spite of Pakistan's support to the terrorists in Punjab. She did not, however, hesitate to order the army in April 1984 to deploy a brigade at the Siachen glacier along the Line of Control (LoC) in Kashmir.

12.2.1. Economic Development: Sixth Plan

To dissolve the State Assemblies was easy, but to bolster the tempo of economic development was a Herculean task. The derailed planning process during the Janata interregnum was put on rails again. The task of planning was resumed with all seriousness. The Fifth Plan was completed a year ahead by March 1978. On 14 February, the National Development Council approved the Sixth Five-year Plan. It was formulated for a 15-year period spanning 1980–1981 to 1994–95. This was a perspective planning for accelerated progress towards removal of poverty, generation of gainful employment, and technological self-reliance. The Plan envisaged an outlay of Rs. I72.210 crores. The sixth plan represented an increase of 148% in nominal terms when compared with the fifth plan. Efforts were made to further strengthen of the public sector with an initiative towards economic liberalization.

During the sixth plan period, there was striking improvements in overall economic growth. It witnessed an acceleration in the growth of real per capita income to over 3.1 % per annum. Because of the emphasis laid on industrialization, the industrial sector registered a growth of about five-and-a-half times. Despite Green Revolution, the agricultural sector recorded a relatively modest performance primarily due to intermittent droughts and setbacks in capital spending. Services sector and the external sector gathered momentum. But low growth rates, closure of trade and investment, a licence-obsessed, restrictive state-inability to sustain social expenditures, loss of confidence in the efficacy of growth in reducing poverty, macrocrisis, and pervasive pessimism led to political upheavals, social tensions, and regional and communal agitations.

12.2.2. Asian Games

During political uncertainty during Janata Regime (1977–1979), the conduct of Asian Games in New Delhi was getting delayed. Indira Gandhi entrusted the responsibility of organising the event to Rajiv Gandhi. Since Rajiv Gandhi was interested in promoting serious sport in India, he involved himself in overseeing the creation of new facilities such as stadia, swimming pools, hostels for athletes, flyovers, and new broad roads, etc., in record time. He provided necessary leadership, drive, and motivation to make the mega event a huge success. The Asian Games were conducted during November–December 1982 with great pomp and grandeur.

12.3. Assam Agitation and Atrocities

12.3.1. Problem of Immigrants

Since the beginning of the 20th century, thousands of migrants and their descendants had settled in Assam. This led to ethnic, cultural, and linguistic controversies, conflicts, and confrontation. Particularly, the Bengali immigrants, most of them Muslims, who had settled in the state after leaving the Bangladesh war in 1971, aggravate the tension. The influx of illegal immigrants reduced the native Assamese to a minority. The aggrieved Assamese were agitating for their legitimate place in their own state and expected the Government of India to detect the Bengali immigrants, disenfranchise, and deport them to Bangladesh or disperse them in other states. The All-Assam Students Union took up the cause, mobilized the Assamese, and led an anti-Bengali agitation in the state.

12.3.2. Punjab Crisis

12.3.2.1. The Demands

The euphoria of Indira Gandhi's victory in 1980 and her return to power led to the defeat of the Akali government in Punjab. Darbara Singh was sworn in as Chief Minister of Punjab. The Akalis, deprived of power, started an agitation demanding Chandigarh as their exclusive capital, and a major share of the river waters of the Ravi and Beas, to be shared between Punjab, Haryana, and Rajasthan. They also insisted on the immediate implementation of the Anandpur Sahib Resolution and several other exacting demands. Bhindranwale, who was released from the prison in 1982, distanced himself from the Congress, raised the banner of militant revolt against it, and demanded Khalistan, a sovereign Sikh state. "He was supported in his demand by Sikhs within the country and without".

12.3.2.2. Escalating Violence

In 1982, Giani Zail Singh, a political rival of the Punjab Chief minister, Darbara Singh, became the President of India. Violence in Punjab was escalating. The President, the Chief Minister, the Akalis, and the hard core militant leader Bhindranwale who was openly preaching secession were pulling in different directions. When Amristar police chief A.S. Atwal was assassinated on 23 April 1983, the Chief Minister of Punjab, Darbara Singh, sought the permission of Indira Gandhi to send the police into the temple complex in order to arrest Bhindranwale and his guerrilla army. But, "Indira, on the advice of Zail Singh refused to authorize this initiative". Punjab went out of control. In 1984, the Punjab crisis degenerated into an explosive situation. Indira Gandhi's Intelligence Agencies unearthed a major plot hatched by Sikhs and Non-Resident Indian (NRI) supporters with Bhindranwale against the Hindus in Punjab. The intransigent Bhindranwale shifted his headquarters from the outer precincts of the golden temple to the inner sanctum sanctorum called the Akal Takht. His terror squads were

playing havoc in the countryside. Law and order situation in Punjab was fast breaking down as lawlessness and violence were escalating.

12.4. OPERATION BLUE STAR

12.4.1. Dismissal of Darbara Singh Government

To contain violence and to restore law and order, the Government of India, on 6 October 1983, dismissed the Darbara Singh Government and placed Punjab under President's rule. The next day, Punjab and Chandigarh were declared as disturbed areas. During the President's rule, indiscriminate killing of innocent people had continued. The Akalis neither disowned Bhindranwale nor did they expel him from the Golden Temple. Harmandir Sahib had been converted into an arsenal of illicit arms. It harboured criminals and terrorists. All appeals, negotiations, and dialogues failed; deadlock continued.

12.4.1.1. Process of the Military Operation

On the night of 30 May 1984, the Indian army surrounded the Golden Temple. The operation would be carried out by the ninth division of the Indian army, commanded by Major General Gurdial Singh. "Operation Blue Star" was the code name of the assault. For three days, the army was watching the movements in and around the Golden Temple. On 3 June, all foreign journalists were expelled from Punjab. All movement in the state was halted. Punjab's border with Pakistan was sealed. Practically, "The Punjab was cut off from the rest of the world in preparation for the final assault". On 4 and 5 June 1984, the army warned the rebels inside the temple to surrender. On 5 June, under cover of darkness, a team of army commandos gained entry into the Akhal Takht. They rescued the unarmed Sikh leaders of the Akali Dal including Sant Longowal. On the morning of 6 June, the pitched battle began. In an effort to avoid too much damage to the Golden Temple, over a hundred soldiers lost their lives. Towards the end of the day tanks and artillery were deployed. The rebel defence crumbled. Bhindranwale and his associates died with their weapons in their hands. The remaining rebels surrendered. The Operation Blue Star was over. But the cost of the operation, material and human, was prohibitive and incalculable. The exact death toll of the civilians is unknown till date. The golden temple library was destroyed in fire. The Akal Takht was severely damaged.

12.4.1.2. The Assassination

On the morning of 31 October 1984, Indira Gandhi's long tenure as prime minister was brought to an end by her assassination by two Sikh members of her security guard. The Congress Parliamentary Board immediately nominated her 40-year-old son, Rajiv Gandhi, as prime minister.

Check Your Progress

1. How many seats did Gandhi secure in the 1980 Lok Sabha elections?
2. When did Soviet Union send their troops to Afghanistan?
3. Who was the commander of Operation Blue Star?

12.5. RAJIV GANDHI

12.5.1. The New Prime Minister

Following the assassination of Indira Gandhi on 31 October 1984, the Congress Parliamentary Party passed a resolution recommending Rajiv Gandhi as the party's candidate for the post of Prime Minister.

12.5.1.1. Anti-Sikh Riots

Outside Rashtrapati Bhavan, Delhi city was in flames. Incensed by the assassination of Indira Gandhi by her own Sikh bodyguards, the infuriated mob indulged in mindless rampage against Sikhs. For 2 days, Delhi, particularly the fringe 're-settlement colonies' witnessed large-scale riots. The uncontrollable mobs targeted Sikh-owned shops and business places, and looted and torched them. The indiscriminate killings, burnings, raping, and arson continued for a couple of days. It reminded of the partition communal carnage of 1947. Rajiv Gandhi, still mourning the death of his mother, swang into action. He entrusted the responsibility for maintaining law and order in the entire city with the Army. Refugee camps for riot victims were organised. A Special Action Group was constituted to help in bringing relief and succor to the beleaguered victims. A programme of action was chalked out. Relief in the form of tents, medicines, blankets, food, and water was given on war-footing. Proper security arrangements were made in every camp. Topmost priority was accorded to relief work. Rajiv Gandhi displaced "extraordinary qualities of leadership in crisis management".

12.5.1.2. Bhopal Gas Tragedy, December 1984

On 3 December 1984, there was a leak in the Union Carbide chemical gas plant. Union Carbide, a U.S. multinational pesticide company, was set up in 1978. Despite the strong objection raised by M.N. Bach, Administrator of the Municipal Corporation, the plant was located in a residential area in Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh, because labour was plentiful and cheap. Bach was transferred. Even though there had been leakages earlier in the plant in 1978, 1981, and 1983, the one on the morning of 3 December 1984 was a human tragedy, killing hundreds of men, women, children, and cattle. Rajiv Gandhi cut short his election campaign tour, rushed to Bhopal, the scene of gory carnage, consoled the survivors, and promised compensation. The Bhopal poisonous gas leak tragedy was "the worst environmental disaster the world has ever known".

12.5.1.3. 1984 Election

With a view to acquire popular mandate, Rajiv Gandhi advanced by a month the date of general elections scheduled for late January 1985. In the election campaigns, Rajiv Gandhi presented himself as Mr. Clean. His core campaign theme was integrity, unity, and stability of India. He admitted past mistakes and assured that they would be corrected. He promised to usher India into the 21st Century.

Rajiv Gandhi won a landslide victory in the elections, thanks to the "sympathy wave". "In a way, 1984 elections were fought by a dead hero whose tragic death loomed large over the country's voters". Congress secured nearly 80% of the seats, 401 out of 508 in the Lok Sabha. In fact, he got a greater number of votes than had ever been secured by either Jawaharlal Nehru or Indira Gandhi. In the election, 64.1% of votes were polled and the share of Congress vote was 49% The people trusted Rajiv Gandhi and entrusted with him a massive national mandate. Rajiv Gandhi's position as Prime Minister was legitimatised.

12.5.1.4. Rajiv-Longowal Accord, July 1985

Rajiv Gandhi's first act as Prime Minister was the fire-fighting operation of containing the anti-Sikh riots. He constituted an investigating machinery to trace out the culprits and then to punish them. Then his major policy initiative was to find an amicable solution to the Punjab problem. In January 1985, the Akali leaders including its President H.S. Longowal were released. The tense political situation created by the Blue Star Operation started to cool down. Terrorism died down. Disenchanted by militancy, mass agitation, and extremism, Longowal, President of Akali Dal, entered into negotiations with Rajiv Gandhi.

On 24 July 1985, Longowal reached an accord with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and his Cabinet. The accord was reached after protracted negotiations. It was a memorandum of understanding. The salient points of the accord were the following:

1) The Government of India agreed to consider the proposal of bringing out an all-India Gurudwara legislation.
2) The Anandpur Sahib resolution, which dealt with centre-state relations, shall be referred to the Sarkaria Commission.
3) Chandigarh would become the capital solely of Punjab.
4) Official commission would determine the extent of Hindi-speaking territories to be transferred to Haryana in lieu of Chandigarh.
5) The farmers of Punjab, Haryana, and Rajasthan will continue to get water from the Ravi-Beas system as on 1 July 1985.
6) Along with ex-gratia payment to those innocents killed in agitation after 1 August 1982, compensation for property damaged will also be paid.

Longowal stated that the Anandpur Sahib Resolution was not intended to undermine the Indian Union.

12.5.1.5. The Assam Accord

During Indira Gandhi's regime, Assam was placed Under the President's rule since March 1982. The 1983 elections, boycotted by the protesters and agitators, ended with a total collapse of law and order. The worst ever violence erupted since India's independence. Indira Congress won the elections, but lost Assam. The problem of illegal immigrants in Assam remained unsolved. Rajiv Gandhi paid urgent attention to the disturbances in Assam.

On 15 August, 1985, he reached an agreement with the All-Assam Students Union. According to the Accord:

1) All immigrants who had entered Assam between 1951 and 1961 would be given full citizenship;
2) Those who came into the state after 1971 would be deported;
3) The entrants between 1961 and 1971 would be denied voting rights for 10 years but would enjoy all other rights;
4) The central government would set up a new oil refinery, in addition to the existing three refineries;
5) The jute mills and Ahsok Paper Mill at Jogighopa would be reopened;
6) Educational institution similar to IITs would be set up in the state, especially for the benefit of the students of the North Eastern Region as a whole.

The accord was welcomed widely, as it would remove the bitterness generated in the state. The Assam Agreement added a feather on the cap of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, a milestone in the state's history and a finest Independence Day gift to the people of Assam.

12.5.1.6. Rajiv-Laldenga Accord, 1986

Mizoram was a flash-point in the North-East. The Mizo National Front (MNF) led by L.C. Laldenga, in March 1966, declared Independence from Assam. Subsequently, the Mizo Hills district from Assam was converted into a Union Territory called Mizoram. Still insurgent activities persisted. In 1982, Indira Gandhi made an agreement with Laldenga and won the 1934 elections to the Mizoram Legislature Assembly. In 1986, Rajiv Gandhi signed the historic accord granting full statehood to Mizoram. Then the incumbent Congress Chief Minister was replaced by Laldenga. The Accord added another colourful feather on Rajivi's cap.

12.5.1.7. The Shah Bano-Case, 1985–86

Shah Bano, 62-year-old, had been married to Mohammed Ahmed Khan for 46 years and had 4 children and was divorced by her husband. She filed a maintenance claim with the local magistrate court in Indore, Madhya Pradesh, against her husband. The Magistrate decided in favour of Shah Bano. But the monthly maintenance allowance of Rs. 25 was too meagre, so she appealed to the High Court which revised the amount to Rs. 179 and paise 20. Her husband refused to bear the decreed amount and appealed to the Supreme Court which in its landmark judgment, while reaffirming the High Court verdict in favour of Shah Bano, held that divorced Muslim women, like other

Indian women, were entitled to maintenance and raised the maintenance allowance to Rs. 500 per month. The judgment was a martial blow to the personal law of Muslims.

Muslim Women's (Protection of Rights of Divorce) Bill

The Banatwala Bill, introduced in 1986, by a private M.P. G.M. Banatwala, the General Secretary of the Indian Union Muslim League, sought to amend the criminal procedure code so as to deny maintenance to divorced Muslim women. Rajiv Gandhi was caught in the crossfire of Shah Bano case and Banatwala Bill. If he supported the bill, he would have to gain the wrath of the Hindus; if he opposed the Bill, he would have antagonized the Muslims. To come out of this tricky situation, Rajiv Gandhi Government introduced the Muslim Women's (Protection of Rights of Divorce) Bill on 25 February, 1986.

12.5.1.8. Anti-Defection Act, 1985

Rajiv Gandhi, who was determined to clean up the political system, got the Anti-Deflection (52nd Constitution Amendment) Bill (1985) passed by the Parliament. The objective of the Act was to curb defection by disqualification.

The salient features of the crucial Act are the following: 1) Any defected MP or MLA belonging to any political party shall be disqualified from being a member of that house; 2) an elected party member of the house shall be disqualified if he or she joins any other political party after elections; 3) a nominated member of a House shall be disqualified if he or she joins any political party after 6 months; and 4) if one-third of the members of a political party leave a party, it would be treated as a split and will not invite expulsion from the house.

The Act was of course defective and there were many loopholes, but it was a bold attempt to check horse-trading and shifting of loyalties by unscrupulous politicians. It was a serious effort to make the political system more transparent and to dissuade self-promoting despicable offenders.

12.5.1.9. Economic Policy

Four-fold strategy

Rajiv Gandhi was neither happy with the 'mixed economy' nor with the pampering of public sector undertakings. He wanted to bring about radical changes in the existing politico-economic system. He, therefore, decided to liberalize the socialist system of licenses and controls to suit the needs of globalization, modernization, and urbanization. He formulated a four-point strategy to prepare the country to enter into the 21st century with confidence: (1) to open the economy to a free enterprise and market mechanism, (2) to introduce modern management methods, (3) to clean up administration, and (4) to democratize and revitalize the ruling party. Rajiv's new political and economic order has been compared with the Perestroika of the newly chosen General Secretary of the Soviet Union, Mikhail Gorbachev.

12.5.1.10. Technology Missions

One of the ingenious innovative policy initiatives was the setting up of Technology Missions. Guided by Sam Pitroda, six technology missions were established: (1) The Drinking Water Mission, (2) The Literacy Mission, (3) The Immunization Mission, (4) The White-revolution Mission, (5) The Edible Oil Mission, and (6) The Telephone Mission. These technology-oriented missions were time-bound problem-solving projects. They applied science and technology to solve the perennial problems of providing safe protected drinking water to all Indian villages, attacking mass illiteracy, immunization of pregnant women and children, promoting milk production, increasing edible oil production, and to bring one telephone to every village in India by the end of the 20th century. These missions heralded a multiple rural revolution in India.

12.5.1.11. Computerisation

Telecom revolution, telephone counters came up in towns and villages in India. India was punctuated by Public Call Offices. Computerisation programme did not lag behind. It marched hand-in-hand with telecom expansion. Rajiv Gandhi brushed aside criticism and pushed through computerization project. He encouraged domestic producers by cutting import duties on computer components. Foreign manufacturers were allowed to enter the domestic market. Computers were introduced in offices and educational institutions. In short, Rajiv Gandhi inaugurated the information and communication revolution.

12.6. NEW EDUCATION POLICY, 1986

12.6.1. National Policy on Education

The Parliament in 1986 adopted the National Policy on Education. Task Forces examined the existing situation and submitted their supports in July 1986. The Programme of Action was drawn on the basis of these Reports. The chief characteristics of the New Education Policy (NEP) were the following: 1) organizational flexibility, 2) relevance of curriculum, 3) diversity in learning activities to relate them to learners' needs, and 4) decentralization of management. The over-arching aim of the NEP was to create a national system of education, elimination of disparities in the educational system, and improvement in the quality of publicly funded schools. Priority had been towards 1) effective universalisation of elementary education, 2) eradication of illiteracy and skill development, 3) vocationalisation of education, 4) preparation of manpower required for developmental needs, 5) improvement in quality at all levels, and 6) scientific and technological research.

In pursuance of the National Education Policy, formulated in 1968, the Rajiv Government reviewed the shortcomings and achievements of educational policies and programmes and attempted to revamp the entire educational edifice "to cope with the future challenges and the accelerating pace of change". The Parliament, during the Budget session in 1986, discussed

and adopted the National Policy on Education, 1986. The National Education Policy (NEP) laid greatest emphasis on elimination of disparities in the educational system and on improvement in the quality of publicly funded schools.

12.6.2. Operation Blackboard

The National Education Policy with specific proposals was implemented with speed and determination. Operation Blackboard was launched with the object of providing minimum essential facilities in primary schools. The word 'operation' was used to imply the urgency of the programme, that goals were clear and well-defined and that government were determined to achieve the goals within a predetermined time frame. In the words of Programme of Action document, the operation blackboard was undertaken "to demonstrably improve accommodation and facilities in underprovided primary schools in rural as well as urban areas". Operation Blackboard envisaged (1) two reasonably large rooms, (2) necessary toys and games material, (3) blackboards, (4) maps, (5) charts, and (6) other learning materials. The specific items to be provided in each school under Operation Blackboard were specified. Single-teacher schools were to be replaced by providing one more teacher per school during the Eighth Five-year Plan period.

12.6.3. Navodaya Vidyalayas

The programme of starting Navodaya Vidyalayas has two aspects: one was for the potentially high achievers, and the other was for the gifted students who can be expected to make original contribution in their subject areas. This was the merit-based programme for the gifted students of Rural India. The government proposed to start one Navodaya Vidyalaya in each district throughout the country during the seventh five-year plan period. The intention was to make available good quality secondary education irrespective of the parent's capacity to pay and their socioeconomic background. The schools were criticized as elitist.

12.6.4. Autonomous Colleges

The New Education Policy gave a good push to the scheme of autonomous colleges. The scheme envisaged that about 500 such colleges should be developed during the seventh plan period, and more important, the existing uncreative and outmoded affiliating system shall be replaced by the new system. To achieve this objective, the university acts were to be amended.

12.6.5. Rural Higher Education

Education to rural children received great attention during the freedom movement. After Independence, greater importance was given to Basic Education and starting of Rural Institutes. The National Education Policy envisaged the development of a pattern of education related to the needs of the rural communities and strengthening and supporting of programmes based on

the concept of co-relation between socially useful productive work, social service, and academic study. With this end in view, rural universities were started. A Central Council of Rural Institutes formulated and coordinated the programmes of rural higher education.

12.6.6. Delinking Degrees from Jobs

Another innovative scheme envisaged by the New Education Policy was to delink university degree from the requirement or recruitment to services, and also this measure will lead to refashioning of job-specific courses. Several strategies were formulated to match higher education with employment.

12.6.7. Open University and Distance Education

The NEP favoured the Open University System since it "augments opportunities for higher education, ensures access, is cost-effective, and promotes a flexible and innovative system of education." The Indira Gandhi Open University (IGNOU), established by an Act of Parliament in September 1985, was responsible for the introduction and promotion of Open University and Distance Education System, besides the university departments. Addressing a gathering at Madras Christian College on 27 March 1987, Rajiv Gandhi observed that the ability of the individual was the main consideration in the New Education policy; that Navodaya Vidyalayas were the first major egalitarian step that had been taken in bringing quality education to the poorest and weakest sections; and that delinking degrees would make employment worthwhile even for those without a university degree.

12.6.8. Research and Development

Planned promotion of Research and Development (R&D) was the integral part of New Education Programme. The NEP laid great importance to R&D in the areas of natural and social sciences, humanities, engineering, agriculture, and medical sciences. The new national policy identified main problems and shortcomings and infrastructural inadequacies, and suggested remedial measures. The 'action points' were (1) research as an integral part of higher education institutions, (2) ensuring high quality of research, (3) enhanced support for research, and (4) networking, collaboration, linkages, coordination, policy, and planning. These action points were fitted in the meticulously planned time frame.

12.6.9. Corruption, Scandals, and Controversies

Bofors Scandal

On 16 April 1986, when opposition in Parliament was blaming Rajiv's Government as 'steeped in corruption', the Swedish National Raido came out with the sensational story that in 1986, the Bofors unit of Nobel Industries, Sweden, AB, the largest Swedish arms manufacturer had already paid a total of 5 million dollars into an account, code-named LOTUS, at the Schweizisher

Bank in Geneva. The contract was alleged to have authorized by Rajiv Gandhi in 1986 when he was the Prime Minister and Defence Minister. The Bofors scandal opened the Pandora's Box.

12.6.10. German Submarine Scandal, 1986

Bofors scandal was followed by the HDW German submarine scandal. Soon after V.P. Singh took charge of the new portfolio of defence, he stumbled on a huge kickback paid for the government contract to buy four submarines from a West German company, Howaldtswerke Deutsche Werbt (HDW). Rajiv Gandhi was furious when he came to know that an enquiry into the submarine deal was ordered by V.P. Singh without consulting him. Soon, V.P. Singh resigned from the government. The opposition and the press praised Singh's honesty and blamed Rajiv's suspected cover-up.

12.6.11. Fair Fax Controversy, 1986–87

The corruption scandals were compounded by the Fairfax controversy. Following a series of articles published in the Indian Express alleging the Chairman of Reliance Industries, Dhirubhai Ambani, a business Titan, had imported machinery illegally. V.P. Singh in October 1986 had authorized the Fairfax Group, a private management consultant firm specializing in detective work, to probe the allegations. This was known to the public only in January 1987. FairFax had allegedly unearthed evidence of kickbacks paid to government agents by foreign companies for securing defence contracts, implicating Amitabh Bachchan and his brother Ajitabh Bachchan who was in Switzerland. Rajiv's credibility was doubted since he was the Prime Minister and Defence Minister during that time.

12.6.12. Fall of Rajiv Government, 1989

In 1989, the Bofors scandal resurfaced with redoubled force. Though the Joint Parliamentary Committee, more or less, exonerated Rajiv Gandhi the Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG) came as a bolt from the blue. The devastating document questioned the technical and cost-assessment procedures followed by the Defence Ministry, then headed by Rajiv Gandhi, for purchasing guns and ammunition. The opposition obstructed the proceedings of the Lok Sabha during the whole week from 18 to 21 July. Then followed the unprecedented resignation of 106 opposition MPs from the Lok Sabha. On 17 October, 1989, Rajiv Gandhi called on the President R. Venkatraman and conveyed his government's decision to call for general elections in November 1989. The same day, the Election Commission announced dates for polls to the 9th Lok Sabha.

Check Your Progress

4. When did Rajiv Gandhi become the Prime Minister?
5. When did Bhopal Gas Tragedy happen?
6. Who introduced the new education policy?

7. Who guided Rajiv Gandhi to introduce the six technological Missions?
8. Which was the first Open University in India?
9. Who introduced the Navodaya Vidyalayas?
10. What was the importance of the 52nd Amendment?
11. What was the objectives of Operation Blackboard?
12. Who was the congress leader who served as the finance and defence minister in Rajiv cabinet, later became leader of opposition and succeeded Rajiv Gandhi as Prime Minister?

12.7. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. Indira Gandhi secured 351 out of the 542 Lok Sabha seats during time of 1980 Lok Sabha election.
2. On 26 December 1979, the Soviet Union sent its troops to Afghanistan.
3. Major General Gurdial Singh was the commander of Operation Blue Star.
4. Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister on 31 October 1984, after the assassination of Indira Gandhi.
5. On 3 December 1984, Bhopal Gas Tragedy took place.
6. Rajiv Gandhi introduced the new education policy.
7. Sam Pitroda guided Rajiv Gandhi to introduce the six technological Missions.
8. Indira Gandhi Open University was the first Open University in India.
9. Rajiv Gandhi introduced the Navodaya Vidyalayas.
10. The importance of 52^{nd} Amendment Bill was Anti-Defection Act. The objective of the Act was to curb defection by disqualification.
11. Operation Blackboard was launched as a part of new education policy with the objective of providing minimum essential facilities in primary schools.
12. V.P. Singh was the congress leader who served as the finance and defence minister in Rajiv cabinet, later became leader of opposition and succeeded Rajiv Gandhi as Prime Minister.

12.8. SUMMARY

- Seventh general election was held in 1980 in which Indira Gandhi got a clear mandate and became the Prime Minister.
- During her second term, Indira Gandhi wanted to resolve the entire political crisis including Assam and Punjab.
- Her younger son Sanjay Gandhi was killed in a plane crash, which was serious setback to Gandhi, and she invited her elder son Rajiv to replace Sanjay.
- Crisis in Punjab was a serious threat to Gandhi. She had negotiated with all Sikh leaders that ended in failure. Terrorism and violence became order of the days in Punjab in 1983 and 1984.

- Finally, Indira Gandhi took military action (Operation Blue Star) to control the violence and terrorist activities in Punjab.
- The operation was successful; all the terrorists were wiped out. However, Gandhi sacrificed her life for the cause of the nation.
- Rajiv Gandhi became the Prime Minister after the assassination of Gandhi.
- He got a clear mandate from the 8th general election.
- He introduced six technological missions guided by Sam Pitroda.
- Rajiv Gandhi introduced the new education policy that promotes all round progress in education.
- As part of the new education policy, the Open University system was introduced for the first time in India; Indira Gandhi Open University was the first Open University in India.
- To improve the quality of education among the rural students, Navodaya Schools were started in each district across the country.
- Introduction of the 52nd Amendment was considered as a landmark in the political history of contemporary India.

12.9. KEY WORDS

Khalistan: Khalistan movement is a Sikh separatist movement seeking to create a separate country called Khalistān in the Punjab region as a homeland for Sikhs.

Akalis: The Akali movement, also called the Gurdwara Reform Movement, was a campaign to bring reform in the gurdwaras in India.

Union Carbide: The Union Carbide, a U.S. multinational pesticide company, was set up in 1978. In December 1984, there was a poisonous gas leakage from this unit, which resulted in a large number of deaths, and this was known as Bhopal Gas tragedy.

Banatwala Bill: It was introduced in 1986, by an independent M.P. G.M. Banatwala, the General Secretary of the Indian Union Muslim League, sought to amend the criminal procedure code so as to deny maintenance to divorced Muslim women.

Anti-Defection Act: Anti-Deflection (52nd Constitution Amendment) Bill (1985) was passed by the Parliament. The objective of the Act was to curb defection by disqualification.

Operation Blackboard: The scheme of Operation Blackboard was launched in 1987 in pursuance of NPE-POA to provide minimum essential facilities to all primary schools in the country.

Navodaya Vidyalayas: Jawahar Navodaya Vidyalayas is a system of alternate schools for talented students predominantly from rural area in India.

12.10. SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. Write a note on the 7th general election.
2. Discuss the Assam Crisis during the Indira Gandhi period.
3. Write a short note on terrorism in Punjab in 1982–84.

4. Write a note on Rajiv Gandhi's Longowal agreement.
5. Give an account on Anti-Sikh Riots after the assassination of Indira Gandhi.
6. Write a note on Bhopal Gas Tragedy.
7. Discuss the communication policy of Rajiv Gandhi.

Long Answer Questions

1. Critically analyze the causes for the second coming Gandhi.
2. Write an essay on political crisis in Punjab during the time of Indira Gandhi.
3. Explain Rajiv Gandhi's policy on Science and Technology.
4. Critically assess the salient features of the new education policy.

12.11. FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT-13-THE MANDAL COMMISSION

Structure

13.0. INTRODUCTION

The reservation policy in contemporary India, particularly for Other Backward Classes, remains an important aspect. V.P. Singh implemented the second backward commission report (Mandal). New economic policies introduced by the Narasimha Rao government in 1991 considered the serious impact on Indian economy. Atal Bihari Vajpayee was a right-wing leader who was in office as Prime Minister in 1998–2004. His internal and external policies, the relationship with Pakistan and the state visit of U.S. President Clinton in 2000, 9/11 attach on the Twin Towers and its implications were some of the important political considerations during his tenure. During his tenure, the second Pokhran test was conducted in 1998. The steps towards education and rural development were considered notable aspects. In this backdrop, the present chapter will analyze implementation of Mandal commission report, new economic policy, and rise of BJP under Vajpayee.

13.1. OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson, you will be able

- to discuss the Mandal commission report and its implementations,
- to analyze new economic policy and its results,
- to trace the rise of BJP under Vajpayee,
- to estimate the internal policy of Vajpayee (1998–2004).

13.2. THE PRIME MINISTER V.P. SINGH

The 1989 general elections saw congress voted out of power once again. Leaders of opposition together formed an alliance called the National Front, bringing together national and regional parties. Vishwanath Pratap Singh served as the finance and defence minister in the Rajiv Gandhi cabinet, resigned from the congress, and started the campaign against Rajiv Gandhi in the 1989 general elections. He was elected the National Front prime minister, which lasted for only 11 months. V.P. Singh took bold steps in many issues in this short period of time; particularly he implemented the Mandal Commission recommendations that paved the way for reservations for OBC.

13.2.1. The Issue of OBCs

The issue of Other Backward Classes (OBCs) is unique. In the case of SCs and STs, there has been national consensus, since the designated castes were well-scheduled. They had a common referent or identity since they bore the brunt of innumerable inhuman discriminations, deprivations and privations, and carried the cross of untouchability—an all-India phenomenon. There is no such common criterion or referent or identity with regard to OBCs. Nor is

there a national consensus about Backward Castes other than SCs and STs. Moreover, the OBCs were heterogeneous—there are innumerable intermediate castes between the 'twice-form' upper castes and the SCs and STs. Confusion was worse confounded.

13.2.2. Kaka Kalelkar Commission

There are specific constitutional provisions regarding the protection, welfare, and advancement of Other Backward Classes (OBCs). As per the constitutional requirement, the first Backward Classes Commission was constituted in 1953 under the chairmanship of Kaka Kalelkar. It submitted its Report in 1955. The Commission expressed doubts about adopting 'caste' as the criterion or the basis for identifying backward classes. Nevertheless, it identified 2,399 castes as socially and educationally backward. It also proposed the adoption of a policy of reservation for BCs in government services, with the reserved posts ranging from 25 to 40% in different categories. But the Government of India had not accepted the recommendations of the Commission because it had not applied any objective scientific test for identifying BCs. However, the issue of identifying the BCs and required reservation for them was left to the discretion of State Governments.

13.2.3. The Mandal Commission

In 1979, the Janata Government, strongly supported by backward caste groups in North India, appointed another commission, known after its chairman as the Mandal Commission. This Commission was asked to (1) determine the criteria for identifying socially and educationally backward classes, (2) suggest steps to be taken for the advancement of such classes, (3) review the desirability or otherwise of making provision for the reservation of appointments in favour of BCs which were not adequately represented in public service, and (4) present a report setting out the fact as found by the Commission making such recommendations. The Commission submitted its Report on 31 December, 1980. The Mandal Commission, like its predecessor, defined BCs in caste rather than class terms. It enumerated specific castes as 'backward' by virtue of their social as well as educational and economic status. The Commission drew up a list of some 400 castes which they classified as 'backward'.

The principles put forth by the Mandal Commission and previous commissions that recommended reservations for the BCs were the following:

1. Caste membership, rather than individual class, should identify the beneficiaries.
2. Low social ranking in the caste hierarchy should be the principal consideration for inclusion on the OBC list.
3. Religious and linguistic groups should not quality for inclusion.
4. Reservations should be in the public sector and, for the SCs and STs, seats in legislative bodies.

In all the reports, individual class characteristics, average per capita income or other economic criteria, and economic condition of religious and linguistic groups were not taken into consideration. The central premise of the Mandal

Commission was that India should proceed from an ideology that rested upon hereditary hierarchy to an ideology that emphasized equality of outcomes, i.e., not equality of opportunity. Though the Janata Government approved the recommendations of the Mandal Commission, no action was taken at the time.

13.2.4. Implementation of the Mandal Report

On 7 August 1990, Prime Minister V.P. Singh made a suo moto statement on the floor of Lok Sabha that his Government had taken the following decisions to implement the Mandal Report. (1) They can adopt, in the first phase, the castes common to both the Mandal list and the state list. 2) The percentage of reservation of the socially and educationally backward castes will be 27%, and 3) The reservation will be applicable to services under the Government of India and public undertakings. The treasury benches loudly cheered Singh's statement. V.P. Singh made it clear that his government's decision to implement the Mandal Commission Report was only the first step towards realizing the goal of giving the backward communities their legitimate share in decision-making and in the society power structure. He was convinced that the country's socioeconomic system was biased against the weaker sections and the distortion could only be corrected by taking some bold steps. He wanted a complete change in the social structure and expected the upper castes would understand the issue in proper perspective.

13.2.5. Anti-Mandal Agitation

V.P. Singh's announcement of his government's reservation policy provoked a violent reaction in the northern states. The Anti-Mandal agitation manifested itself in the form of rallies, meetings, discussions, demonstrations, destruction of public property, self–immolation, etc. The agitation was led essentially by the urban middle class who came out into streets in protest against the government's decision. Particularly, students were in the forefront of the agitation. Teachers, government employees, and housewives supported them. The mobs went on a rampage, buses were set on flames, government property destroyed, university degrees burnt, and some immolated themselves. Girl students of Delhi were lathi-charged.

The agitation was taking an ugly turn and spreading fast to Haryana, Gujarat, Orissa, and a few other states. Police action further provoked the agitations. Troops were called out in Jaipur and Rajasthan where the BJP government wanted to highlight the protest. There was counter antireservation agitation. On 28 August, Dalit Sena activists took out a procession in favour of the "reservation policy." While the initial reaction to Government announcement was spontaneous, the subsequent escalation was an orchestrated reaction by vested interests, including the Prime Minister's opponents in the Janata Dal. The agitation continued unabated till the Supreme Court granted a stay on the implementation of the Mandal Report on 1 October, 1990.

Mandal commission implementation and Rama Jenma Bhoomi temple issues paved way for the fall of V.P. Singh government. One of the Janata Dal leaders, Chandra Sekar split the party and formed the government at the centre

with the help of congress. However, this government lasted only 6 months, the 9th Lok Sabha was dissolved, and general elections were conducted for the 10th Lok Sabha. During the election campaign, congress leader Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated on 21 May 1991, in Sriperumbudur. The election results show that none of the political parties or alliances got the absolute majority in Lok Sabha. At the same time, congress emerged as the single largest party. Its president Narasimha Rao became the ninth prime minister of India with help of regional parties.

Check Your Progress

1. What was the basic objective of the Mandal commission?
2. Who first implemented the Mandal Commission Report?

13.3. P.V. NARASIMHA RAO

P.V. Narasimha Rao, leader of the single largest Congress Party, was able to form the Ministry by himself. He was the first Prime Minister from the South and well-versed in Hindi. He headed a minority government and his prolonged political and administrative experience coupled with his close contact with political parties and leaders helped him, in no small measure, to govern the country. In his first year, Rao was more like a trapeze artist in a circus.

13.3.1. His New Economic Policy

Economic Crisis

Rao’s Government faced the worst ever economic crisis since independence. The crisis had been simmering from the mid-1980s, ever since the successive governments, instead of managing macro-economy, were relying heavily on domestic and foreign borrowings. Added to this was the steep rise in oil prices, consequent to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. As a result, the country had to face a crisis of high fiscal deficit, escalating inflation and setback to balance of payments, leading to a rapid depletion of foreign exchange reserves.

13.3.2. Dr. Manmohan Singh and his Economic Reforms

Dr. Manmohan Singh, Finance Minister, rose up to the occasion and decided to take the bull of economic crisis by its horns. Dr. Singh, a Congress outsider, had an enviable academic track record and enriched experience as Secretary General in the South-South Commission and he had inside knowledge of the international financial institutions. His priority was to correct major distortions and deficiencies in the economic system. He inherited the unenviable legacy of the industrial policy pursued with a vengeance from 1965 to 1990, with a solitary exception of limited liberalization in the 1980s, resulting in crippled capacities, stagnated productivity, prohibitively high cost inefficient industrial structure, burdensome import substitution, and 'export pessimism'. In short, India's rigid industrial and import substitution policies resulted in structural rigidities. The reason was erosion of economic competitiveness and the resultant stagnation of economic growth. So, Dr. Manmohan Singh embarked on the course of Liberalization, Competition, and Globalization.

13.3.3. Economic Measures

13.3.4. Devaluation of Rupee

The finance minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, directed the Reserve Bank of India (RBI) to reduce the value of the rupee by 83% at one stroke and then another dose of devaluation by 11.3%. The Finance Minister also formulated a scheme for bringing down the deficit by drastically cutting subsidies on food, fertilizer, and petrol, etc. Dr. Singh was "valiantly struggling to keep the sinking economy afloat". Manmohanamics saved the situation.

Budget for 1991–92

The budget for 1991–92, presented by the Finance Minister, contained two controversial proposals. (1) Withdrawal of subsidies on fertilizer and (2) a grant of Rs. 100 crores, spread over 5 years, to the Rajiv Gandhi Foundation. Both the proposals provoked strong reactions. Sonia Gandhi, chairperson of the Trust, declined the grant proposed in the budget. The budget was finally passed when the Finance Minister had agreed to reduce the proposed subsidy cut by 40%–30%. Rao's minority government survived one more crisis.

13.3.5. Dismantling Controls

The Government of India got standby loan of two billion–two hundred million dollars from the IMF. Simultaneously, the Government initiated a series of far-reaching economic measures that permitted multinational Corporations and companies to hold 51% of the stock of Indian subsidiaries, instead of the existing 40%. These measures made direct foreign investment possible in 34 major Indian industries, including transportation, food processing, tourism, and the manufacture of electrical equipment. The devaluation of the rupee encouraged the foreign investors and Indian exporters. The economic reform measures constituted an important step towards dismantling the stifling socialist controls on the economy.

13.3.6. Paradigm Shift

The transition from state controlled socialist economy to market-driven liberalized economy was a 'paradigm shift' in independent India. Sweeping changes had been made since July 1991. These changes covered industry, trade, tariff, investment, finance, and tax policies. The objectives of the new economic policy were the following: (1) to deregulate the economy, (2) to reduce the role of the public reactor, (3) to unleash private initiative and enterprise, (4) to accelerate economic growth, (5) to meet the challenges of global competitiveness, and (6) to ensure social justice and equity.

13.3.7. Economic Revolution

Prime Minister Narasimha Rao, Finance Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh, Commerce Minister P. Chidambaram, and the Commerce Secretary Dr. Montek Singh Ahluwalia, in their combined wisdom, inaugurated an incredible economic reform in the history of contemporary India. The middle of 1991 witnessed a plethora of economic changes of far-reaching consequences. The strangulating Monopolies and Restrictive Trade Practices (MRTP) Act was scrapped. Rupee was devalued by 20% in two steps (July 1991). The export subsidy was abolished since devaluation had rendered the subsidy redundant. The trade side of the Licence Raj was dismantled. Licences were replaced by a marketable incentive called Exim Scrips, which allowed exporters to earn foreign exchanges for part of the value of their export. This had removed bureaucrats from the process of export earnings, eliminated red tape, and reduced delays, hassles, and corruption. Thus, trade policy was dramatically liberalized. India opened up and moved towards a market-determined exchange rate, "the most comprehensive structural reform in India's history".

In 1992, Exim scripts were abolished in favour of dual exchange rate, a better arrangement to curb further red tape and bureaucratic control. Similarly, the unified exchange rate was introduced to currency convertibility on the trade account. Following the lead given by Rajiv Gandhi, the industry side of the Licence Raj was dismantled and several industries were delicenced. More importantly, foreign investors were given a majority share in their Indian subsidiaries. It had opened everything except a small negative list relating to security and the environmental concerns. In effect, this had destroyed the Licence Raj. Tax reforms were introduced alongside industrial, trade, and foreign exchange changes.

13.3.8. Achievements

The quartet of Rao, Manmohan, Chidambaram and Ahluwalia was responsible for the amazing economic achievements during 1991–93. Particularly Prime Minister Narasimha Rao was the key behind the reforms. He took tough decisions, provided political support, managed dissent, set up expert committees, which provided intellectual sustenance and legitimized reform measures, and, above all, secured cabinet clearance.

The major achievements of the economic reforms were the following: The Central Government's fiscal deficit came down from 8.4% of GDP in 1991 to 5.7% in 1993. Forex reserves shot up from $1 billion to $20 billion. Inflation came down to 6% from 13%. Industrial licensing was not only liberalized but also virtually abolished. Large industrial houses were liberated from the crippling control of the MRTP Act. The commanding height public sector monopoly was drastically restricted. Banking, airlines, electric power, petroleum, cellular phones, and similar sectors were opened up to private investment. Thirty-four industries and majority foreign ownership were granted 'automatic entry'. The Foreign Investment Promotion Board was set up to expedite speedily clearances. As a result, foreign investment began to double each year. Raw materials, essential components, and capital goods

entered Indian market virtually free of restrictions. The cumulative result of the economic reforms was the dismantling of the complex and complicated import control regime. The initial years of Rao's regime were the best in India's economic life. The reforms created a sense of self-worth, confidence, and competitive capability. The historic achievements improved the economic image of India. "The economic revolution that Narasimha Rao launched in the middle of 1991 may well be more important than the political revolution that Jawaharlal Nehru initiated in 1947.

Check Your Progress

3. Who was the Prime Minister of India when the new economic policy was launched?
4. Who made the proposal for the withdrawal of subsidies on Fertilizer the first time?

13.4. RISE OF BJP AND VAJPAYEE

Elections for the 11th Lok Sabha were conducted in 1996; the opposition party BJP emerged as the single-largest party. Like the 1991 elections, this Lok Sabha also did not have any party with a simple majority. BJP leader Atal Bihar Vajpayee was appointed as the Prime Minister but his government lasted only for 13 days. Regional parties including Janata Dal formed an alliance called United Front and they formed the government under the leadership of Deva Gowda, and later I.K. Gujral, with the help of congress. United front government fell within 2 years.

13.4.1. 12th Lok Sabha Election Results

After the fall of United Front Government, elections were conducted for the 12th Lok Sabha. The disillusioned electorate once again voted for a hung Parliament for the fourth successive time! No party was in a position to form the government on its own. The BJP emerged as the single largest party with 182 seats and the Congress with 141 seats. 'For the first time, the BJP coalition overtook the Congress combine. The BJP and its allies secured 250 seats as against the' Congress and allies with 166 seats.

13.4.2. Cabinet formation

Atal Bihari Vajpayee formed his coalition government on 19 March 1998. A coalition Prime Minister is a captive Prime Minister. He can neither 'wield his power nor exercise his prerogative. Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee was no exception. As head of a disparate and desperate coalition, he found it extremely difficult to choose his cabinet colleagues. He was hamstrung by pulls, pressures, and demands from allies.' Similarly, he had to placate Jayalalithaa of AIDMK, Mamata Banerjee of Trinamool Congress, and other minor parties and independents. Above all, Vajpayee had to honour the commands of the RSS. The Prime Minister could neither fill the vacancies in the Cabinet nor expand it; so he postponed cabinet expansion. Being a creature

of circumstances, Prime Minister Vajpayee was one among equals but was not the first among them.

13.4.3. Pokhran II Tests: 'Operation Shakti'

Five Explosions

On 11 and 13 May 1998, three simultaneous nuclear explosions rocked the desert sands of Pokhran Test Range in the Rajasthan desert. Two days later, two more tests were conducted. The nuclear tests were codenamed Operation Shakti. The efforts to build the bombs and to conduct the tests were kept as closely guarded secret. The world was taken by surprise and felt the shock waves when India conducted five nuclear tests in succession in the summer of 1998.

13.4.4. Reaction

The Pokhran II nuclear tests were followed by a series of strong reactions from around the world. The reaction from the USA and the West was hostile. Other Scandinavian countries and countries like Japan, Australia, and Canada ordered sanctions on India. China was upset because India claimed to have conducted the tests because of the security threat emanating from Beijing. Pakistan responded by claiming that it had detonated six nuclear explosions on 28 and 30 May—one more than what India did! Islamabad continued its missile testing in competition with India.

13.4.5. Bus Diplomacy, February 1999

The relationship between India and Pakistan degenerated from bad to worse ever since both countries conducted nuclear tests in May 1998. When the Prime Minister of India and Pakistan met in September 1998 in New York, on the sidelines of the U.N. General Assembly session, they had agreed to initiate Confidence Building Measures (CBMs) including a regular bus services between Delhi and Lahore. On 20 February, 1999, Prime Minister Vajpayee inaugurated the much publicized historic bus service from New Delhi to Lahore. He himself traveled in the bus. In India, it was hailed as 'Vajpayee's master-stroke'. There was nationwide euphoria.

13.4.6. The Lahore Declaration

Prime Minister Vajpayee, accompanied by several important personalities from different walks of life, went to Lahore and held talks with his counterpart, Nawaz Sharif. At the summit level talks, the two Prime Ministers signed the famous Lahore Declaration. The Declaration highlighted a vision of peace and stability between the two countries and of progress and prosperity for their peoples, reiterated the determination to implementing the Simla Agreement in letter and spirit, and underlined their commitment to the principles of the U.N. Charter and the objectives of universal disarmament and

nonproliferation. In short, the Lahore Declaration contained noble ideals of friendship, cooperation, and good neighborliness. The landmark Declaration marked a new chapter in bilateral ties, demonstrated commendable determination to tread a new path of reconciliation, and a shot in the arm of positive bilateral relations. International community was appreciative of the Lahore Declarations.

13.4.7. Fall Vajpayee Government

One of the allies of BJP, AIADMK withdrew support to Vajpayee government because of unmet demands (to dissolve the DMK government in Tamil Nadu under the leadership of M. Karunanidhi). On 17 April 1999, the Vajpayee Government fell, defeated by one vote in the cliff-hanger no-confidence motion in the Lok Sabha. Vajpayee government recommended dissolution of the Lok Sabha and ordered general elections for the 13th Lok Sabha.

13.4.8. The Kargil War, May 1999 - 'Operation Vijay'

Pak Incursion

Pakistan Army was clandestinely intruding into Indian Territory of Kargil. Pakistan was obviously planning for the infiltration while the draft for the Lahore Declaration was being prepared. The Indian Army came to know of the intrusion only on 5 May 1999! On 12 May, the army realized that the incursion was far more serious that it had assumed. By 18 May, the army claimed that it had neutralized the infiltrators in Batalik area north-east of Kargil and moved to clear them from the rest of the heights.

Repulsed

Having realized that Pakistan infiltrators were lodged in, Kargil-Drass-Batalik sectors, Indian Army swung to action. The battle was fought at the height of 18,000 feet, with 60 degree slops, under the inhospitable winter temperatures of 40 degrees centigrade. Indian Air Force surprised the infiltrators by its precision air strikes (26 May). As causalities mounted, Indian army halted the missions (31 May). After sufficient troops and logistics were built up, the Army launched major offensives in Kargil and Drass sectors. These were accompanied by air strikes (6 June). Army captured Tiger Hill from intruders (4 July). Pakistan infiltrators started retreating from Kargil. Indian Army recaptured key posts at Batalik. India set deadline on 16 July for total withdrawal (11 July). Nawaz Sharif announced pull out of his troops from Kargil and proposed peace talks with Vajpayee (12 July). Proud Prime Minister Vajpayee declared Operation Vijay a success (14 July). The two-month war was over.

Rare Courage

The audacious dare-devil Pakistan Plan, executed by General Parwez Musharraf, caught the Indian Army by surprise. Though surprised by the Pak

brinkmanship, V.P. Malik, Chief of Army Staff, responded to the challenge with rare courage and defeated the enemy decisively. The Indian Army defended 150 km of the world's most adverse battlefield under intensely bitter winter conditions. The initial intelligence failure was more than compensated.

13.4.9. Casualties

During the course of the War, Indian MIG-27 was blownup and FL.Lt.K. Nachiketa was taken prisoner-of-war (POW). Another MIG 21, on a rescue mission, was shot down and Sqn.Ldn. Ajay Ahuja was killed in action (27 May). An Mi-17 helicopter was shot down and its four-men crew was killed. Defence Minister George Fernandez added insult to injury when he said Nawaz Sharif and ISI had no hand in Kargil operations (28 May) Similarly, as casualities were mounting, Prime Minister Vajpayee underplayed the scale of war by observing that there was 'war-like situation' in Kargil (31 May). Again Fernandes rubbed salt on the wound when he offered 'safe-passage' to intruders (1 June). In all, the Kargil War was waged for 74 days over a 150 km length of battlefield along the Line of Control (LaC). Both sides suffered heavy causalities. Four hundred and seven Indian soldiers were killed, 584 injured, and 6 missing. On the Pakistan side, 696 soldiers were killed. The total cost of the war was Rs. 1,110 crores. The unprovoked fourth Indo-Pak War (1947–48, 1965, 1971, and 1999) was a qualified triumph and success.

13.5. 13th Lok Sabha Elections

Election Campaign

The 13th Lok Sabha elections were held under the spell of the Kargil War. The BJP cleverly capitalized the mood of the nation, which was elated by the victory of the war. It linked itself to the victory celebrations, constantly praising the bravery of the Jawans. Vajpayee, the tallest BJP leader, was projected as the prime ministerial candidate. He diplomatically pushed aside contentious issues like Ram Mandir, Swadeshi, Article 370, etc., and talked about development, stability, security, and strong state. Though the BJP issued a separate manifesto, it fought the election with its allies on a common manifesto. The dedicated RSS shakhas and Sangh Parivar loyalists worked for the BJP candidates. Dravidian parties like DMK, MDMK, and other secular parties like PMK, TDP, Trinamool Congress, Samata Party, and others were too willing to join the bandwagon of the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) led by BJP.

13.5.1. Election Results

The election extended over 5 phases. BJP's vote share was no different from that of the 12th Lok Sabha. The big losses of BJP in U.P and Karnataka were compensated by its improved performance in Rajasthan. BJP got more seats primarily because it had more electoral allies. On the other hand, Congress sunk along with its principal allies AIADMK and Rashtriya Janata Dal! BJP

emerged as the single largest party with 182 seats; with its allies, its tally was 304 seats.

13.5.2. The Mandate, 1999

The 13th Lok Sabha elections delivered a clear mandate in favour of Vajpayee and his coalition government. The electoral verdict was unambiguous. The electorate had given Vajpayee his third chance to govern the country. People expected him to take bold decisions on the economic and political fronts rather than squander his opportunity cajoling his allies. The nous of responsibility rested squarely on him to prove beyond doubt that he was an able Prime Minister capable of giving a stable government. The mandate for the NDA partners was not to ignore the power of the electorate. Misusing the mandate in favour of individual blackmail will be punished by the sovereign political masters in the next election. Vajpayee government had to cope with recalcitrant elements within its ranks. It must be service-oriented instead of power-dominated. The task of governance after 6 months of policy paralysis and 6 weeks of continuous campaigning was inescapable.

The 1999 electoral mandate was for (1) pushing through radical economic reforms, (2) for offering an innovative and brave reduction of the fiscal deficit, (3) for a pragmatic programme for disinvestment in public sector undertakings along with bold labour reforms, (4) for specific target-oriented infrastructure development, (5) for time-bound plan to attract foreign investment and to generate employment to empower common man, and (6) for positive, peaceful, and productive relations with foreign and neighbouring countries. In short, the three-pronged objective of the mandate was to live up to the lofty pre-poll promises, to stem the root of government finances, and to fuel the growth rate of the economy further. The taste of NDA Government pudding lied in the eating of its performance.

13.5.3. Pope's Visit, November 1999

Well before the dawn of the 21st century, Pope John Paul II arrived in Delhi on 5 November 1999. He bears the unique status of being both religions leader of the Catholic Church and temporal head of the Vatican City. He visited India as a head of state as of a spiritual leader. But his visit caused commotion. The Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) protested against the Pope's visit demanding that the Pope should apologize for the inquisition in Goa from the 16th Century onwards; he should curb missionary activities in India; and state that 'all religions are equal and Christianity is not the only path of salvation'. The VHP reaction to Pope's visit to India was perceived to be crossing the line of decency, courtesy, and tolerance. The Hindutva outfit had every right to hold an opinion and express it before the Pope, but the way in which it was demonstrated was despicable.

13.5.4. Plane Hijacked, December 1999

In the last month of the 20th century, on 25 December, 1999, an Indian Airlines Airbus IC-SI4 flight from Kathmandu (Nepal) to New Delhi, with

189 passengers on board, was hijacked by five Taliban terrorists. The plane was then taken to Taliban controlled Kandahar in Afghanistan. The hijackers demanded the release of three of the hardcore terrorists from Indian prisons. The passengers and the crew were kept in hostage for seven days. The BJP-Ied NDA Government released the three terrorists. Foreign Minister Jaswant Singh accompanied the terrorists and handed them over to the Talibans and got the passengers and the crew released. One of the terrorists released, and Maulana Massed Azar, the founder of the Jaish-e-Mohammad, was responsible for the Srinagar Assembly blast. Subsequently, he vowed to recruit half a million men to fight Indian rule in Kashmir.

13.5.5. The New Millennium

The NDA Government, headed by Atal Bihari Vajpayee, was on the threshold of the Second Millennium and the birth of the 21st century. India was in a stage of flex on the crossroads facing the problems of the present and the challenges of the future. Prime Minister Vajpayee got the mandate to govern the country after 6 months of policy paralysis and governmental inaction. He had the golden opportunity to fulfill his poll-promises by ensuring 'a firm and fair administration' and 'faster economic growth', as promised. The expectations were high. Vajpayee's 25-party coalition government was quantitatively and qualitatively better suited for reforms. Finance Minister, Yashwant Sinha, ably supported by Prime Minister Vajpayee unfolded an ambitious agenda of economic reforms to respond to the challenges of the 2151 century. It is strange irony of history that "the millennium will be ushered in by a government led by a party that for years seemed to be more interested in reviving and avenging the past than in heralding the future".

13.5.6. India 2000 A.D

India entered the new century with a positive note without any Y2K (problems emerging in any of the critical sectors like power, telecommunications, and civil aviation, etc., as feared and anticipated). The K. Subramaniam Committee probing 'intelligence failure' which led to the Pak incursions in the Kargil sector in April 1999 submitted its report, confirming colossal intelligence failure (7 January). President K.R. Narayanan addressed the nation on the eve of the Golden Jubilee of the Indian Republic, cautioning people against social and economic disparities (25 January). Government announced setting up of an 11-Member Constitution Review Commission to be chaired by Justice M.N. Venkatachaliah (13 February). Union Cabinet approved 3 Bills for creation of new States of Jharkhand, Uttaranchal, and Chhattisgarh out of Bihar, UP, and MP, respectively (13 May). Prime Minister Vajpayee went to New York to participate in the Millennium Summit (7 September). The Cauvery dispute got hot; Tamil Nadu filed petition in the Supreme Court against Karnataka Chief Minister S.M. Krishna (8 October); Supreme Court took a very serious view of S.M. Krishna's defiance of its order on releasing Cauvery waters (24 October); and Karnataka decided to release Cauvery water to Tamil Nadu (27 October).

13.5.7. Constitutional Review Commission, 2000

On 22 February, 2000, the NDA Government set up by a resolution the National Commission to review the working of the Constitution. The Review Commission was headed by M.N. Venkatachaliah, the former Chief Justice of India. The 11-member Venkatachaliah Commission was required to examine, in the light of the experience of the past 50 years, as to how far the existing provisions of the Constitution were capable of responding to the needs of efficient, smooth, and effective system of governance and socioeconomic development of modern India and recommend changes, if any. The Commission clarified that it was to review the working of the Constitution and not to rewrite and to recommend changes to be made in the Constitution within the framework of Parliamentary Democracy and without interfering with the 'basic structure' or 'basic features' of the Constitution.

The Venkatachaliah Commission examined the following 10 areas: (1) Strengthening of the institutions of parliamentary democracy, (2) Electoral reforms, (3) Pace of socioeconomic change and development, (4) Promoting literacy and ensuring social security, (5) Centre–State relations, (6) Decentralisation and strengthening of Panchayat Raj, (7) Enlargement of Fundamental Rights, (8) Effectuation of fundamental duties, (9) Enforcement of Directive Principles, and (10) Legal control of fiscal and monitory policies.

After 2 years of public debate, circulation of panel papers to political parties, trade unions, representative bodies, academicians, research institutes, bar associations, the media, nongovernmental organizations, consumer groups and constitutional bodies like National Human Rights Commission, etc. was done; the Commission submitted its 2-volume Report to the NDA Government on 31 March 2002. The 1,979 page Report contains 249 recommendations; of them, 58 involve constitutional amendments, 86 about legislative measures, and the remaining to be implemented through executive action.

The Venkatachaliah Constitutional Review Commission, however, did not take a position on the following: (1) the eligibility of 'non-Indian born citizens' or those whose parents or grandparents were citizens of India to hold high constitutional offices like the President and Prime Minister, etc., (2) a Uniform Civil Code, (3) the idea of state funding of elections, and (4) prescribing a minimum of 50% plus one vote in elections.

13.5.8. Terrorist Attack on Parliament, December 2001

India was the target of terrorist attack in the second half of 2001. On October 2001, Jammu and Kashmir Assembly was subjected to suicide squad attack, in which 40 civilians had been killed. Earlier in December 2000, Lashkar-e-Taiba militants had successfully breached the fortified Red Fort in Delhi. On 13 December, 2001, the terrorists attacked the Parliament House. On that fateful day, both Houses of Parliament had been adjourned within minutes of meeting when the opposition stalled proceedings over the' Kargil Coffin Scam'. Several ministers and MPs were in the Central Hall when the attack was carried out.

There was pitched gun battle between the security personnel and five members of a suicide squad (fidaheen) who had stormed the country's most well-protected area. In the encounter, all the five terrorists had been shot dead; as many as a security personnel and a gardener lost their lives and about a dozen others sustained injuries. The attack was described as the most audacious and alarming act of terrorism. The attack on the citadel of India's democracy shook the confidence of the nation. Though the security personnel were rightly praised for foiling the terrorists from sneaking inside the Parliament House; one wondered whether the attack was the result of security lapse.

13.5.9. Prevention of Terrorism Act (POTA), March, 2002

War on Terrorism

Following the terror strike on the twin towers of the World Trade Centre in New York on 11 September, 2001, America unleashed 'war against terror'. Like many other governments across the world, the NDA Government led by Vajpayee was too willing to join the 'War against terror' spearheaded by us. The terrorist attack on the Parliament on 13 December, 2001 perhaps prompted Vajpayee Government to join the American crusade against jeltadi Islam. The Government decided to follow a two-pronged attack on terrorism: (1) The Vajpayee Government ordered the biggest and the longest mobilization of the armed forces along the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir as well as the international borders of the Punjab and Rajasthan, major mobilization since Independence, and (2) armed itself with additional powers needed to fight and defeat terrorists.

13.5.10. Electing the President and Vice-President, 2002

President

President K.R. Narayanan's five-year term came to a close on 24 July 2002. The Election Commission announced the schedule for the next presidential poll. The names of Vice-President Krishna Kant, the Maharashtra Governor P.C. Alexander, the missile scientist Abdul Kalam, and the Veteran INA freedom fighter Captain Lakshmi Sahgal were considered for the highest office in the Indian Republic. Finally, Abdul Kalam, supported by the ruling NDA, the Congress, the Telugu Desam Party, the Samajwadi Party, and AIADMK, and Captain Lakshmi Sahgal backed by the Communist parties and the Janata Dal (Secular) contested the election. On 18 July 2002, Abdul Kalam won the election with an over-whelming majority of electoral votes. He was sworn in as the 13th President on 25 July 2002.

Vice-President

The contest for the Vice-President's post was between the former Chief Minister of Rajasthan Bhairon Singh Shekhawat and the Dalit leader and a congressman Sushil Kumar Shinde. The former was supported by the NDA

and the later was backed by the opposition parties. On 12 August, 2002, Shekhawat was declared elected. He was sworn in as the 11th Vice-President of India.

13.5.11. Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA)

Universalisation of elementary education is the constitutional objective and a directive principle. In 1993, Supreme Court declared education a fundamental right for all Indians aged between 6 to 14 years. The Bill making education, a fundamental right was introduced in the Rajya Sabha by the United Front Government in 1997. The Government had set for itself the year 2005 to achieve this ambitions target. The Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA) Scheme was introduced in 2002 with the twin objectives of universal education and universal retention. The SSA sought to enroll all eligible children in school by 2003; all such children complete 5 years of primary education by 2007; 8 years of schooling by 2010; bridge all gender and social category gaps at the primary stage by 2007; and at the elementary education level by 2010. With this end in view, the NDA Government wanted to achieve its first target of having all children in the age group of 6 to 14 years in school by the end of 2003! The states were expected to bear 25% of the expenditure incurred by the SSA during the 10-plan period.

13.5.12. The Text Book Controversy

The new National Curriculum Framework for School Education (NCFSE) was introduced in April 2002. The curriculum controversy became acute and acrimonious. A public interest litigation (PIL) against the NCFSE was filed in the Supreme Court. A section of the academic community objected to the new curriculum on the ground that it was an attempt to 'saffronise' education, prepared by the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT). Contrary to the constitutional mandate, both the choice of writers and the changes in historical accounts were partial and prejudicial, and more important, it had not been endorsed by the Central Advisory Board of Education (CABE). Though the apex court at first granted an interim stay on the petition, and later in mid-September 2002, the Court dismissed it. Nevertheless, most of the States under opposition rule refused to accept the NCFSE. Even TDP-ruled Andhra Pradesh expressed reservation about the revised curriculum. The education ministry was more interested in imposing its 'saffron education' than building a consensus for national education system. It was reluctant to convene a State Education Ministers' Conference. More than that, it refused to reconstitute CABE, which had been the pivotal advisory body.

13.5.13. National Institutes of Technology

The NDA Government successfully executed its well-considered plan of converting all the 17 Regional Engineering Colleges (RECs) across the country into National Institutes of Technology (NITs) and granting them deemed to be university status. The Centre came forward to bear the entire

financial burden, besides giving 'full autonomy' to them in academic and administrative matters. All States that had RECs fell in line with the Centre's proposal and introduced it within a year. This reform in technical education was needed to meet the increasing demand for technical manpower and research and development personnel of the standard of a product of the country's premier Indian Institutes of Technology.

13.5.14. Infrastructure Development

The NDA Government bestowed special attention to the infrastructure development of power, energy, telecom, railways, road network, ports, and civil aviation. Particular mention may be made to the Electricity Regulatory Commissions Act 1998. The independent regulation machinery came into existence with the enactment of the Act. The Regulator has the mandate to protect the consumers' interests, ensure adequate return to the investor, promote economy and efficiency, ensure that tariffs progressively reflect the cost of supply, and gradually remove and eliminate cross-subsidies and facilitate competition. "The Electricity Act 2003 marks a watershed for the electricity sector".

The NDA Government focused attention on the development of roads, opting for new initiatives in financing and maintenance of roads, and moving from the public to public–private partnership. The Ninth Plan period was significant for (1) the launching of the National Highway Development Project consisting of a Golden Quadrilateral and the North-South and East-West corridors, (2) levy of tolls in select stretches of the national highway with an amendment to the National Highway Act, (3) creation of a legal framework for private sector participation, and 4) fillip to externally aided projects. The sector was slated for a step up activities.

13.5.15. Rural Development

The development of rural areas and improving socioeconomic conditions of the villagers has been the central concerns of development planning since Independence. The Anti-Poverty Programmes are a dominant feature of government initiative in rural areas. The programs have been reviewed, restructured, and strengthened and new programmes were introduced in successive years. The following are the important rural development programmes introduced by the NDA Government: Rural Employment Programmes Swarnajayanti Gram Swarozgar Yojana (SGSY), introduced on 1 April, 1999, is a holistic self-employment programme for the rural poor. Its basic objectives are (1) improving the family income of the rural poor, (2) providing for a flexibility of design at grass-root levels, and (3) extending assistance to acquire income generating assets. Its special focus is on the SCs and STs (50%), women (40%), and the disabled (3%). Similarly, Sampoorna Grameen Rozgar Yojana (SGRY), introduced on 25 September, 2001, aims to provide additional wage employment in rural areas as also food security, alongside creation of durable community, social and economic assets, and infrastructure development in these areas. The programme is self-targeting in

nature with special emphasis on women, SCs, STs, and parents of children withdrawn from hazardous occupations.

13.5.16. Antyodaya Anna Yojana

Antyodaya Anna Yojana was a major poverty eradication programme. The scheme was launched on 25 December 2000, the birthday of Prime Minister Vajpayee and aimed to identify one crore 'poorest of the poor' families in the country to receive wheat or rice per month at highly subsidized rates. Henceforth, the poor will be divided into two categories, viz., (1) the regular 'below poverty line' (BPL) population, and (2) 'poorest of the poor' families. Surprisingly, the announcement came a few months after the Union Cabinet had rejected the implementation of the highly subsidized scheme. Apart from the subsidy commitment, doubts were expressed about the modalities of the scheme's implementation like the precise identification of the target group, ensuring that the grain reached the real 'poorest of poor,' etc. The 'birthday give away' was, however, hailed as one more colorful feather in the coalition cap of Vajpayee.

Check Your Progress

5. When was the second nuclear underground test conducted?
6. Who organized the bus diplomacy?
7. When was the Prevention of Terrorism Act passed?
8. What was the basic objective of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan?
9. When were the 13th Lok Sabha elections conducted?
10. Who was elected as President of India in 2002?

13.6. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The Mandal Commission's basic objective was to give reservation for other backward classes (OBCs).
2. V.P. Singh first implemented the Mandal Commission Report in 1990.
3. Narasimha Rao was the Prime Minister of India when the new economic policy was introduced.
4. Former Finance Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh made the proposal for the first time for the withdrawal of subsidies on Fertilizer.
5. In 1998, 11th and 13th May, the second nuclear underground test was conducted.
6. Former Prime Minister A.B. Vajpayee organized the bus diplomacy in 1999.
7. Prevention of Terrorism Act was passed in March 2002.
8. Elementary education was the basic objective of Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan.
9. The 13th Lok Sabha election was conducted in 1999.
10. A.P.J. Abdul Kalam was elected as the President of India in 2002.

13.7. SUMMARY

- The second Backward Commission was appointed by the Janata government in 1979 under the chairmanship of Mandal.
- The commission submitted its report during the time of Indira Gandhi, but it was implemented by V.P. Singh in 1990. It recommended reservations for Other Backward Classes.
- This implementation created unrest in North India; finally Supreme Court stayed its implementation.
- Narasimha Rao came to power in 1991 and his government initiated the new economic policy, breaking the traditional economic system, and introduced LPG.
- Manmohan Singh was the finance minister who was responsible for introduction of economic reforms (new economic policy).
- BJP came to power in 1998 under the leadership of A.B. Vajpayee.
- Vajpayee government took bold steps such as underground nuclear test and bus diplomacy in his first term of office.
- However, the BJP government lost its majority in the Lok Sabha in 1999 due to the withdrawal of AIADMK.
- The 13th Lok Sabha election was conducted on the same year and in that election, NDA got absolute majority, because of the charismatic leadership of Vajpayee and victory in the Kargil. The 13th Lok Sabha successfully completed its full term (1999–2004).
- Terrorist activities included a plane hijacked in 1999 and Parliament attack in 2001.
- Vajpayee government took severe steps to control terrorism; as part of this, in 2002, POTA was implemented.
- The NDA government also concentrated on infrastructure and rural development in its tenure.

13.8. KEY WORDS

Macroeconomics: Macroeconomics is a branch of economics that deals with the performance, structure, behavior, and decision-making of an economy as a whole. This includes regional, national, and global economies.
Operation Shakti: On 11 May 1998, India successfully conducted Pokhran-II (code name: Operation Shakti) in which it tested its Shakti-I nuclear missile at Indian Army’s Pokhran Test Range in Rajasthan.
Buddha Smiling: Buddha Smiling was the code name assigned for India's first successful nuclear bomb test on 18 May 1974. The bomb was detonated on the army base Pokhran Test Range in Rajasthan by the Indian Army under the supervision of several key Indian generals.
Liberalization: Liberalization is a process whereby a state lifts restrictions on some private individual activities. Liberalization occurs when something that was used to be banned is no longer banned or when the government regulations are relaxed. Economic liberalization is the reduction of state’s involvement in the economy.
Privatization: Privatization can mean different things, including moving something from the public sector into the private sector. It is also sometimes

used as a synonym for deregulation when a heavily regulated private company or industry becomes less regulated.

Globalization: Globalization is the process of interaction and integration among people, companies, and governments worldwide. It was adopted in India as a part of economic reforms that started since 1991.

Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan: SSA is an Indian Government programme aimed at the universalisation of elementary education "in a time-bound manner", the 86th Amendment to the Constitution of India making free and compulsory education to children between the ages of 6 and 14 years a fundamental right.

Antyodaya Anna Yojana: Antyodaya Anna Yojana is a Government of India sponsored scheme to provide highly subsidized food to millions of the poorest families.

13.9. SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. Write a note on anti-Mandal agitation.
2. Write a short note on POTA.
3. Briefly discuss the results of the 12th Lok Sabha election.
4. Explain the science and technology focus under Vajpayee's tenure.

Long Answer Questions

1. Write an essay on Mandal Commission and its recommendations.
2. Critically analyze the new economic policy during the prime ministership of Narasimha Rao.
3. Discuss the relationship between India and Pakistan during the tenure of Vajpayee.
4. Analyze the rural development programme during the tenure of Vajpayee.

13.10. FURTHER READINGS

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UNIT -14- MANMOHAN SINGH-NARENDRA MODI

Structure

14.0. INTRODUCTION

Dr. Manmohan Singh, a noted economist, became the Prime Minister of India in 2004. Dr. Singh was not a politician but he was able to run the government for ten years. His internal and external policies made a remarkable influence on contemporary India. Followed by him Narendra Modi became the Prime Minister after the 2014 general elections. Modi is a charismatic leader who took the party to run government. Under his able leadership, for the first time after thirty years, a single party achieved majority in the Lok Sabha. His internal and external policies are highly significance. Not only he did successfully complete (2014-19) his first term in office, but he came back with a comfortable majority for the second time. In this background, this chapter discusses the internal and external policies of both Dr. Singh and Modi as well as the contemporary challenges.

14.1. OBJECTIVES

After studying this lesson, you will be able to

- Trace the internal policies of Manmohan Singh.
- Analyze his foreign policies.
- Explain domestic policy of Narandra Modi.
- Discuss external policies of Narendra Modi.
- Analyze contemporary challenges.

14.2. Dr. MANMOHAN SINGH AND UPA-I

Elections for the 14th Lok Sabha was held in May 2004, in which no single party or alliance got a simple majority in Lok Sabha. NDA lost this election and lost the tenure from the charismatic leadership of Vajpayee. United Progressive Alliance (UPA) headed by Congress came to power; after the controversy surrounding Sonia Gandhi becoming the prime minister, she did not accept President’s invitation to become the Prime Minister. Dr. Manmohan

Singh headed the UPA government and became the Prime Minister. Like the previous NDA coalition, UPA was also dominated by the regional parties.

14.2.1. Events That Marked the First UPA government

The Tsunami Tragedy

The UPA Government had to confront with the aftermath of the devastating tsunami which had struck and ravaged Andaman and Nicobar Islands and caused havoc to the coastal states of Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Pondicherry on 5 December 2004. The tsunami was a national disaster. Millions of people were affected. There was massive mobilization of contributions, help and succors to tsunami victims, particularly to the worst affected community of fishermen. Along with hundreds of agencies and individuals who volunteered relief work, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh led the rehabilitation operation. National Disaster Management Agency was established and swung into action. The Science and Technology Ministry began working on establishing a tsunami warning system, with a view to co-ordinate warning, relief and rehabilitation work when natural disasters affect any part of India. The tsunami tragedy was managed with a professional bent.

14.2.2. Submission of the Nanavati Commission Report

The Nanavati Commission was appointed by the previous NDA Government in 2000, following criticisms that the previous probes did not produced anything worthwhile. The Commission inquired into the 1984 anti-Sikh riots following the assassination of the then Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by her Sikh body guards. Tabling the report in the Lok Sabha, on 8 August 2000, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh said, "on behalf of our government, on behalf of the entire people of this country, I bow my head in shame that such a thing took place". Jagdish Tytler, his Minister for Overseas Indian Affairs, had to resign as he was indicted by the commission. Sajjan Kumar, another Congress leader and Lok Sabha M.P. and who was also named in the report, quit the post of the Chairperson of the Delhi Rural Development Board. The Nanavathi Commission, however, exonerated Rajiv Gandhi or any other high ranking Congress leaders from the charges of complicity in organizing the attacks.

14.2.3. Mullai Periyar Dam Dispute

On 10 November 2005, the Supreme Court suggested the appointment of a Technical Experts Committee, to look into the safety and other aspects of the Mullai Periyar Dam, to resolve the dispute between Tamil Nadu and Kerala on raising the water level from 136 feet to 142 feet. The Committee, after inspecting the main dam, the galleries, baby dam, earthen bunds and spillway, concluded that the dam was safe, that no excessive seepage was seen, that the dam had been strengthened by Tamil Nadu, and that the increase in the level would not affect the flora and fauna. Based on the Report, the Supreme Court,

on 27 February 2006, directed the Kerala Government to raise the water level in the dam as required by the Tamil Nadu Government.

14.3. Social Sector Schemes

14.3.1. Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGS)

A plethora of poverty alleviation, development and employment-generation programmes had been in vogue for a long time. One such momentous scheme has been the rural employment legislation. The National Rural Employment Guarantee Act (MGNREGA) was passed in September 2005 and was launched on 2 February 2006. The objective was to provide 100 days of guaranteed unskilled wage employment to each rural household opting for it. Two hundred districts in the country were identified for the initial implementation of the scheme, and the remaining districts were to be covered within the next five years.

14.3.2. National Rural Health Mission

The National Rural Health Mission was launched in April 2005, in order to make 'architectural corrections in the rural health infrastructure'. The goals of NRHM are to (1) provide universal access to equitable, affordable and quality healthcare; (2) respond to the needs of the poor; (3) reduce infant and maternal mortality; (4) prevent and control diseases; (5) facilitate access to integrated, comprehensive primary health care; and (6) achieve population stabilization and gender and demographic balance. To start with, effective health care will be provided to the rural population with special focus on 18 states known to have weak public health indicators and weak infrastructure.

14.3.3. National Urban Renewal Mission

The Jawaharlal Nehru National Urban Renewal Mission was launched in December 2005. The mission is a time-bound, for a 7-year period from 2005 to 2006. It has two main components: 1) basic services to the urban poor (BSUP); and 2) integrated housing and slum development programme (IHSDP). The BSUP was introduced to assist cities and towns in taking up housing and infrastructural facilities for the urban poor in 63 cities. Similarly, IHSDP has taken up the housing and slum upgradation programme in non-BSUP cities. The Centre, on 26 September 2006, approved 56 projects with an outlay of more than Rs.35 billion for 20 cities during 2006–07.

14.3.4. Strategy for Drinking Water

Addressing a conference of state and union territory ministers in charge of rural drinking water supply and rural sanitation on 11 January 2006 in New Delhi, Prime Minister Manmohan Singh unveiled a 5-pronged strategy to ensure availability of safe potable water: 1) eliminating backlog and providing safe drinking water to all habitation; 2) addressing the water quality programme; 3)entrusting the responsibility of water supply management to

local institutions; 4) building the capacity of such grass-roots institutions; and 5) managing the environmental resources within which the security of safe and assured water supply is embedded. These aspects will be covered under the Bharat Nirman Programme, which deals with building the infrastructure and providing basic amenities to rural areas.

14.4. Women's Welfare, Girls' Education and Women Empowerment

14.4.1. Equal Rights for Women

In August 2005, the Hindu Succession (Amendment) Bill was passed in the Parliament. The Bill removes discrimination against Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist and Jain Women women, including married daughters, by ensuring equal rights in parental property. Women now can inherit coparcenaries property. Remarriage of the widow of a 'karta' or any other co-parcener will not deny a daughter her right. The landmark amendment is a significant step forward in rectifying gender discrimination in property laws.

14.4.2. Protection of Women from Domestic Violence

The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act 2005 is an Act of the Parliament of India enacted to protect women from domestic violence. It was brought into force in 2006. The Act provides a definition of "domestic violence", in according to Indian law, with this definition being broad and including not only physical violence, but also other forms of violence such as emotional/verbal, sexual, and economic abuse. It is a civil law meant primarily for protection and not meant to be enforced criminally.

14.4.3. Girl's Education

The UPA Government announced that every girl from single child families would be eligible for free education from Class VI to Class XII in schools affiliated to the Central Board of Secondary Education (CBSE). This progressive measure seeks to address the bias against educating the girl child in India and to achieve the goal of balancing the sex ratio. The scheme is an attempt to reward the 'socially correct' behaviour in order to transform society.

14.4.4. Women Empowerment

In February 2006, the National Commission for Women launched an ambitious programme for empowering women in villages. The campaign was called *'Chalo Gaon Ki Ore'*. The programme focused on the pressing problem of female foeticide and the missing girl child. The campaign also made rural women aware of HIV / AIDS, finance scheme, and sensitize them on how to take legal and police help.

14.4.5. Compulsory Registration of Marriage

On 14 February 2006, the Supreme Court directed that marriages be registered compulsorily, irrespective of religion. It directed the Centre, all States and Union Territories to amend the rules suitably to this effect within 3 months. The measure is remarkably revolutionary with far-reaching consequences. It is of critical importance because 1) it prevents child marriages and marriages without the consent of both parties; 2) it would check bigamy / polygamy; 3) it would ensure minimum age of marriage; 4) it would ensure the claim of married women to live in their matrimonial houses; 5) it would enable women to claim their inheritance rights and other benefits they are entitled to after the death of their husbands; and 6) it would deter them from deserting their wives, besides preventing parents and guardians from selling their daughters and wards to any person under the garb of marriage.

14.4.6. National Identity Card Scheme

The Multi-purpose National Identity Card (MNIC) scheme became operational on 26 May 2007 with the UPA Government releasing the first set prepared under the Pilot Project. The project was initiated in November 2003. Accordingly, the Citizenship Act 1955 was amended to provide for compulsory registration of all citizens and issue of a national identity card. It is a tamper proof plastic card with visible zone and details encoded in a microprocessor chip. The present project is called Aadhar. This most mammoth project is a step in the right direction to establish and ensure a person's national identity.

The *Unique Identification Authority of India* (UIDAI) is an agency /as UPA government responsible for implementing the envisioned *AADHAAR*, unique identification number data-base. It aimed at providing a unique number to all Indians, but not smart cards. It would provide *a data-base of residents* containing very simple data in biometrics. The UIDAI is part of the Planning Commission. The Aadhaar Card is a smart card having a microprocessor chip. This is a secure and safe card. This one card will serve the purpose of several cards. Its Unique Features are: 1) it is a 12 digit unique number which the UIDAI will issue for all residents in India. 2) This number will be stored in a centralised data base. 3) It is linked to the basic demographic and bio-metric information. 4) It is easily verifiable online, cost-effective way. 5) It is smart and robust enough to eliminate the large number of duplicate and private databases. 6) The random number generated will be devoid of any classification based on caste, creed, religion and geography.

14.4.7. Right to Information

The Right to Information Act (RTI) was implemented on 12 October 2005. Following are the salient features of the Act: 1) The term 'right to information' has been defined to include the right to a) copy and inspect records; b) take certified samples; and c) inspect public works. Information also includes facts relating to a private body that can be accessed by a public authority. (2) The act aims to provide right of information to promote transparency and accountability. (3) It covers 'public authorities' of the Central Government, the

State Governments, Panchayat Raj institutions and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). 4) It provides for the constitution of a Central Information Commission (CIC) with a Chief Information Commissioner and up to 10 Central Information Commissioners; 5) A similar setup is envisaged for the State Information Commissions. 6) Finally, a citizen requesting information is required to file an application with the Public Information Officer (PIO) or the Assistant Public Information Officer (APIO) in a prescribed format. The officer concerned must either provide or refuse the information within 30 days of receiving the application. The Act provides for stringent system of penalties if the PIOs or APIOs fail to provide the information requested.

The landmark legislation received all round appreciation. The Act ensures greater transparency in government transactions and improves quality of governance. Further, it guarantees maximum disclosure with minimum exemptions, provides an independent appeal mechanism for the citizen, and slaps penalties on erring officials. The Act is expected to improve accountability and transparency and eliminate corruption at all levels. It is hailed as a legislation of the common man. In short, the Right to Information Act opened a new era of openness and transparency.

14.4.8 Bharat Nirman

Bharat Nirman was launched by the UPA Government in 2005 and is an ambitious visionary plan for rural infrastructure to provide basic amenities to rural India.

Bharat Nirman focuses on six major components of the infrastructure: 1) water, 2) roads, 3) housing, 4) telephone, 5) electricity, and 6) irrigation. It is expected to ultimately result in the overall development of the infrastructural facilities of the country as a whole. It is a revolutionary flagship programme of the UPA Government.

14.4.9. National Knowledge Commission, 2005–2008

The UPA Government constituted the National Knowledge Commission as a think-tank to consider a possible policy that might sharpen India's comparative advantage in the knowledge-intensive service sectors. Constituted on 13th June 2005 with Sam Pitroda as its Chairman, the 8-member Commission was an advisory body to the Prime Minister of India.

The objective of the National Knowledge Commission was to transform India into a knowledge society. The Commission focused on 5 key areas of knowledge paradigm: 1) access to knowledge, 2) knowledge concepts, 3) knowledge creation, 4) knowledge application, and 5) the development of better knowledge services.

The Commission submitted around 300 recommendations on 27 focus areas during its three-and-a-half-year term. Following are some of the salient recommendations:

1. To set up 1,500 universities to attain a gross enrolment of at least 15% by 2015
2. Some clusters of affiliated colleges could be turned into universities

3. Creation of an independent regulatory authority for higher education by an act of Parliament
4. Creation of more appropriately scaled and more nimble universities that are more responsive to the current realities
5. Government support for higher education should increase to at least 1.5% of the gross domestic product (GDP)
6. Norms and parameters need to be drawn up to allow universities to use their land as a source of finance.
7. There should be a more rational fee structure: Fees that can meet at least 20% of the total expenditure in Universities
8. Needy students should be given fee waiver scholarships
9. Setting up of 50 national universities that can provide education of the highest standards. It specifically suggested setting up 10 national universities over the next 3 years.
10. Some of the existing universities could be converted into national universities after a rigorous process of selection to set as examples.

14.4.10 Anti-Terror Law, 2008

The UPA Government introduced two important Bills in the Lok Sabha: 1) to set up the National Investigation Agency (NIA) and 2) to strengthen the unlawful Activities Prevention Act (UAPA) to probe the gravest acts of terrorism.

14.4.11. Right to Education, 2008

Six years after the Parliament passed the 86th Constitutional Amendment (2002) Bill, the UPA Government introduced the Right to Children to Free and Compulsory Education Bill in the Rajya Sabha on 15 December 2008. The Bill provided a blueprint for systemic reforms in elementary education. The aim of the bill was to provide quality education. The legislation was a significant step towards the common school system, first proposed by the Kothari Commission in the 1960s.

The Right to Education Bill made it mandatory for private unaided schools to set aside 25% of their annual intake at the entry level for disadvantaged children in the school's neighbourhood. This move was to counter privatization of school education. The Bill also made screening of students a punishable offence. More importantly, the Bill barred capitation fees and made it a punishable offence with fines up to ten times the capitation fees charged. However, this well-meant legislative measure encountered many a hurdle.

14.4.12. National Integration Council, 2008

The National Integration Council (NIC) was reconstituted in February 2005 after a long gap of 15 years. The NIC consisted of the Prime Minister and 141 members. Chaired by Manmohan Singh, it was inaugurated on 13 October 2008. While inaugurating the 14th Meeting of the National Integration

Council, Dr Singh identified the divisive and sinter factors of communalism, casteism, regionalism and linguism as banes of national integration.

14.4.13. Operation Duryodhana

The Aaj Tak TV channel and Cobrapost.com, under a sting operation code-named 'Operation Duryodhana', caught 11 MPs red-handed when they took money for asking questions in the parliament: 6 of them belonged to the BJP, 3 were from the BSP, and one each from the Congress and the RJD. The parties concerned promptly suspended the tainted MPs. The Rajya Sabha suspended the BJP member Chhattrapal Singh Lodha on the recommendation of the House Ethics Committee. On the basis of the findings of the 5-member multi-party House Committee, the Lok Sabha suspended the remaining 10 MPs. On 23 December, Parliament expelled all the 11 MPs.
It was for the first time in the history of the Parliament that the membership of MPs was terminated by voice vote. The wholesale expulsion of MPs across the political spectrum is unprecedented. This event remains a tribute to Parliament that it will not shield devious and dubious conduct of its own members. The episode also exposed the excess immunity provided for MPs. The sting operation draws attention to the need for defining and delimiting MP privileges in a manner that does not tacitly licence acts of corruption. The Supreme Court on 10 January 2007 upheld the termination of membership of 11 MPs.

14.4.14. MPLAD Scheme Scam: 'Operation Chakravyuh'

The Member of Parliament Local Area Development (MPLAD) Scheme was launched in late 1993 by the Narasimha Rao Government. Under this scheme, each MP receives Rs.2 crore a year for works involving 'creation of durable assets' for public use. Such works are to be implemented in their respective constituencies through District Collectors. Close on the heels of 'Operation Duryodhana', Operation Chakravyuh was carried out by another TV channel. Seven MPs were found discussing kickbacks with TV reporters for handing out contracts under the MPLAD Scheme. The 'undercover operation' is yet another proof of corruption and venality of those who occupy the highest legislative bodies in the country.

14.4.15. 11th Five Year Plan, 2007–2012

The Planning Commission approved the Approach paper to the 11th Five Year Plan, commencing from 2007–08. Broadly, the objective of the 11th Plan is 'faster and more inclusive growth'. Its central aim is to achieve a growth rate of about 10% by the end of the plan period. Other objectives are: growth of 4% in the agriculture sector; faster employment creation; reducing disparities across regions; ensuring access to basic physical infrastructure; and health and education services to all. Public Private Partnership (PPP) programmes were to receive aggressive support in infrastructure projects. Fiscal and revenue deficits will be tackled by cutting down government expenditure and imposing fiscal discipline irrespective of the economic situation.

Check Your Progress

1. Which places in India were affected by the 2004 tsunami?
2. Why did the government appoint Nanavati Commission?
3. Who appointed the Technical Experts Committee for Mullai Periyar Dam?
4. When was the National Rural Health Mission launched?
5. Which campaign was called *'Chalo Gaon Ki Ore'*?

14.5. RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

14.5.1. Indo-US Relations

Commitment on Civilian Nuclear Cooperation was signed on 18 July 2005, between President Bush and Prime Minister Manmohan Singh who committed themselves to the implementation of Civilian nuclear cooperation. Under the deal, India has agreed to 1) separate its civilian and military nuclear facilities; 2) place the former under full-scope international Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) safeguards; 3) take steps to prevent export of nuclear-weapons technology; 4) contribute to other international non-proliferation regimes; and 5) continue with its declared moratorium on nuclear tests. The US Administration has committed to make appropriate provisions to supply fuel to the Tarapur nuclear plant. Further, the USA would push for transfer of other nuclear energy technology to India and introduce similar measures in the 44-country Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) and related actions by the IAEA. Moreover, the USA has agreed to recognize India as a 'leading country with advanced nuclear technology', thus granting it a de facto NWS status.

14.5.2. Technology Safeguard pact

India and the USA have agreed to sign a Technology Safeguard Agreement as part of the measures that will facilitate India to launch US licensed satellites and also third country satellites carrying US controlled items. The pact also seeks to safeguard the protected technologies of either country associated with such missions. The Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO) and the US National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) formulated two memoranda of understanding (MOU) that define the scope of the experiments and the sharing of responsibilities and data with regard to instruments from NASA that are to be flown as part of Chandrayaan, India's first lunar mission to moon.

14.6. Indo-Russia Relations

14.6.1. Mutual Cooperation

Since the early 1950s, India and Russia had built special enduring relations. India's policy of non-alignment enabled it to accept Soviet support in areas of strategic cooperation without subscribing to Soviet global policies. The 6th annual summit between Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President

Vladimir Putin was held in Moscow in early December 2005. They discussed the issue of mutual cooperation in energy, defence tie-up, economic and trade issue and space research.

Russia provided two 1000MW reactors for the Kudankulam nuclear plant in Tamil Nadu. Indo-Russian cooperation in defence moved in a quick pace during Prime Minister Manmohan Singh's visit to Moscow, even though no new contract was signed. A Comprehensive Economic Cooperation Agreement between India and Russia proposed to give a closer look at the economic and trade issues. India and Russia signed a bilateral agreement on technology safeguards related to Russia's Glonass Space Communication system, opening the road to the launching of communication satellites, which will be used by both countries for civilian and military purposes.

14.6.2. Defence Research and Development

On 22 December 2006, the India-Russia Working Group on Military Technical Cooperation decided to cooperate more closely in defence research and development with the identification of cutting-edge areas in which the scientists will work together. Twelve projects covering health, hypersonic and microwave technologies were identified. Russia agreed to become a joint partner in Hindustan Aeronautics Limited (HAL) in the manufacture of Sukoi-30 MKL and the MIG 29M2 series. The two sides have also agreed to extend their cooperation in jointly manufacturing the supersonic missile Brahmos.

14.7. INDO-EUROPEAN UNION RELATIONS

Sixth Summit, 2005

The 6th Indo-European Summit was held in New Delhi in September 2005, whihch resulted in a Joint Action Plan. It outlined an agenda to strengthen cooperation in counter-terrorism efforts. The EU formally invited India to participate in the Galileo Space Programme. It also cleared India's participation in the International Thermo-nuclear Experimental Reactor Project. British Prime Minister Tony Blair and Manmohan Singh issued a Joint Statement after their meeting in Udaipur, Rajasthan. The two sides spelt out their common belief in the fundamental importance of multi- literalism; establishing an Elf-India dialogue on global and security issues; and pledged to uphold human rights in a spirit of equality and mutual respect. The two leaders hailed the Joint Statement as a turning point in the relations between India and the European Union.

14.8. India-China Relations

The UPA Government bestowed great interest in consolidating relations between India and China. In their summit meeting in New Delhi in November 2006, President Hu Jntao and Manmohan Singh signed 13 agreements on protocols. The notable aspect of the Summit was the mutual understanding, an enhancing bilateral trade and a feasibility study on a free trade agreement. However, some irritants in the India-China relations needed to be resolved.

For instance, China's occupation of large areas of Indian Territory and its claim to Aksai Chin in Ladak.

China continues to claim the reunification of Arunachal Pradesh with that country. The undelineated Line of Actual Control (LAC) between India and China remains a major destabilizing factor. The China-Pakistan nexus in the nuclear, missiles and military hardware poses strategic challenge to India. These issues need to be resolved through bilateral talks and negotiations.

In terms of trade relations, the two countries signed, in December 2006, a major pact envisaging joint exploration, production and acquisition of oil assets in third world countries. Indian Oil and China's Sinopec signed an MOU in Beijing as part of expanding cooperation between India and China.

14.9. India-Pakistan Relations

The Indo-Pak relations primarily revolve around the Kashmir issue. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and President General Pervez Muzharraf met in September 2005 in New York, on the side lines of the UN General Assembly plenary session. They issued a Joint Statement pledging to pursue all possible options for a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir issue and not to allow terrorism to impede the peace process.

Manmohan Singh and Musharraf met again in September 2006, in Havana, Cuba, on the side lines of the Non-Aligned Movement Summit. They issued a Joint statement agreeing that the peace process must be maintained. In a major breakthrough, the two leaders used the historic opportunity to resolve the crucial issue of terrorism and crush its terror network after agreeing on the establishment of an Anti- Terrorism Institutional Network.

On 1 January 2006, India and Pakistan exchanged the list of their nuclear facilities. On 15 November 2006, both the countries set up a joint mechanism to deal with terrorism. The two sides reached an agreement on nuclear risk reduction. It was also agreed on begin early operation of cross-LIC truck service. A 3-member anti-terror mechanism was set up. The setting up of the joint anti-terror mechanism is considered to be the single biggest achievement of India and Pakistan. The first ever joint anti-terror mechanism meeting was held in March 2007. The two countries agreed to cooperate with each other on the various terror attacks, including the recent blasts on the link train of the Lahore-bound Samjihauta Express and the blasts on the local trains of Mumbai on 11 July 2006. India also provided evidence of Pak linkages to terror attacks in Ayodhya, Varanasi, Delhi and other places. The purpose of the Joint Mechanism is to prevent terrorist attacks in both countries, and to assist each other through information sharing. India and Pakistan are not expected to achieve wonders through the joint mechanism to counter terrorism. But the leaders of two neighbors can go a long way if they can reform the mindsets of their respective security establishments.

14.10. India-Sri Lanka Relations

Srilankan President Mahinda Rajapakse visited India towards the end of December 2005 and held wide-ranging discussions with Prime Minister Manmohan Singh. He briefed Dr Singh on his assessment of the status of the

peace process in his country. The Joint Statement catalyzed a border economic relationship between the two countries, underlined the enduring solution to the country's problems could emerge only through political processes, and agreed that the environmental implications of the Sethusamudram Ship Channel Project had to be studied and monitored.

On the political front, Manmohan Singh reiterated India's support to a negotiated settlement acceptable to all sections of Sri Lankan society within the framework of an undivided Sri Lanka and consistent with democracy, pluralism and respect for human rights. On 3 November 2006, 9th meeting of the India-Sri Lanka Joint Business Council concluded that there was tremendous potential for enhancement of economic cooperation between the two countries. In a significant judgment, Sri Lankan Supreme Court on 16 October 2006 scrapped a key element of the 1987 Indo-Sri Lanka Peace Accord by which the country's northern and eastern provinces were clubbed to become one administrative unit.

Check Your Progress

6. Which is the India's first lunar mission to moon?
7. Which country provided two 1000MW reactors for the Kudankulam nuclear power plant?
8. Who was the president of USA when the civil nuclear deal was concluded between India and USA?

14.11. GENERAL ELECTIONS, 2009

The pre-election UPA alliance saw partners like PMK, MDMK, BSP and CPM withdrawing from the alliance. Election was held in 2009 once again and UPA formed the government at the Centre.

14.11.1. UPA Government II

National Food Security Bill

The National Food Security Bill was introduced in Parliament in December 2012, promulgated as a Presidential Ordinance on 5 July, 2013, enacted into law in 20 August and signed into Act by the President on 12 September, 2013. The National Food Security Act aims at providing subsidized food grains to approximately two-thirds of India's 1.2 billion people. Under the provisions of the Act, beneficiaries can purchase 5 kg of cereals per eligible person per month at low prices. Pregnant women, lactating mothers and children are eligible for daily free meals.

The Act is a poverty eradication measure. In fact, it is hailed as an investment in human capital. This revolutionary initiative will bring food security for poor people and makes it easier for them to make ends meet. It is a significant step towards eradication of hunger, malnutrition and resultant poverty. Also, this Act will revolutionize food distribution system.

14.12. 16th Lok Sabha

Elections for 16th Lok Sabha were held in May 2014. This time the mandate was very clear: for the first time after thirty years, a single party secured

majority in the Lok Sabha. Even though BJP secured majority, they formed the government in the name of NDA. Modi proved to be a charismatic leader in BJP after Vajpayee became the Prime Minister of India.

14.12.1. Telangana Becomes the 29th State

Andhra Pradesh witnessed violent agitations for a separate Telangana in 1967 and regularly thereafter. The UPA-II government finally announced the formation of the Telangana State. Telangana was born on 1 June 2014 as India's 29th State. It is carved out as a new political territory out of the southern state of Andhra Pradesh. Chandrashakhar Rao was sworn in as the State's first chief minister in the capital Hyderabad. Both Telangana and Andhra Pradesh speaking the same language became two separate states.

14.12.2. Bringing Back Black Money

The BJP's election manifesto assured the people that its government under Modi will track down and bring back black money stashed in Swiss banks and offshore accounts. After assuming office on 27 May 2014, the Modi government, in pursuance of Supreme Court directions, formed a special investigation team (SIT) under Justice M.B. Shah.

The 11-member Justice Shaw was formed (1) to investigate individuals having accounts in Lie Chtenste in Banks, whose names were disclosed by Germany; (2) to review the already agreed matters; and (3) to prepare a comprehensive action plan to unearth black money deposited in foreign banks. The SIT will be anchored by the Central Board of Direct Taxes.

In order to dismantle black money, the NDA government announced another important step in the form of demonetization on 8 November 2016. Prime Minister Modi declared that Rs.1000 and 500 notes would no longer be legal tender. The government strongly believed that this step would help bring back the black money. However, it resulted in untold hardship to the people for nearly the next six months. Simultaneously, RBI released new Rs 500 and 2000 notes. The outcome of demonetization is still debated.

14.12.3. Controversy Surrounding Imposition of Hindi

The Home Ministry issued an order 2014 directing bureau to use Hindi for tweeting and posting comments in social media. In effect, the Home Ministry order made Hindi compulsory for official use in social media. This was construed as imposition of Hindi on non-Hindi speaking people. Protests erupted against this imposition, especially from Tamil Nadu.

14.12.4. Fatwas

The term *fatwa* refers to the legal opinion or interpretation that a qualified jurist or mufti can give on issues pertaining to the Islamic Law. The Supreme

Court on 7 July 2014, in a landmark verdict, clarified that fatwas issued by Muslim Shanniat Courts (Dar-ul-Qazas) do not have legal sanctity and cannot be enforced if they infringed on the fundamental rights of any individual.
According to the Supreme Court, a fatwa cannot be entertained by court of law and such a fatwa shall be in violation of basic human rights. It cannot be used to punish the innocent and ignorant. No religion, including Islam, can punish the innocent.

14.12.5. Cauvery Water Disputes Tribunal

The sharing of the water from Cauvery River has been a contentious issue between Karnataka and Tamil Nadu for a pretty long time. The cauvery water Disputes Tribunal announced its final verdict on 5 February 2007. The Tribunal met again on 15 July 2014. Following a long-drawn legal battle by Tamil Nadu, the Supreme Court passed its verdict regarding the proportion of water to be shared between Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Kerala, and Puducherry. A Cauvery Management Board was also constituted.

14.12.6. Introduction of Goods and Services Tax

On 1 July 2017 Goods and Services Tax (GST) was implemented by the NDA Government with a view to phase out Central Sales Tax in order to minimize the difficulties in managing the fiscal deficit. Such a proposal divided the country into states ruled by the Congress and others during the UPA regime. By reintroducing the GST, the Modi government made a history.

14.12.7. Judicial Appointments Bill

The National Judicial Appointments Commission Amendment Bill, 2014, and the 12th Amendment Bill were introduced in the Lok Sabha. The Constitutional Amendment Bill recommends the scrapping of the Collegium System and establishes a six-member body for appointment of judges. The Amendment Bill lays down the procedure to be followed for appointment and transfer of judges. After the passage of the first Bill, the government will move the second Bill to accord constitutional status to the proposed commission. These Bills have already provoked confrontation between the executive and the judiciary, and this proposal was quashed by Supreme Court.

Check Your Progress

9. When was the National Food Security Act passed?
10. When did Telungana become a separate state?
11. When was GST implemented?

14.13. RELATIONSHIP WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

14.13.1. Indo-US Relations

When Narendra Modi became the Prime Minister of India, three factors loomed large in the Indo-US relations: 1) The first was the visa ban against Modi. This ban was imposed on him under the U.S. Immigration and

Nationality Act, for severe violation of religious freedom due to the Gujarat communal violence when he was the chief minister. 2) The Khobragade diplomatic crisis of late 2013 was the second. 3) Trade disputes and intellectual property rights. These were the three checkpoints in the bilateral relations between the two countries. In May 2014 US President Barack Obama reversed the visa ban and invited Modi to visit the USA.

IAEA Safeguards

Faithfully following the footsteps of Manmohan Singh's UPA government, Modi's NDA government ratified on 22 June 2014 an Additional Protocol with the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). It may be recalled that the Manmohan Government on 1 August 2008 signed a pact to place Indian Civilian Nuclear facilities under IACA safeguards. On 10th October, Indo-US Civil Nuclear deal was linked.

Modi Government carried forward the nuclear deal and ratified additional protocol, covering the facilities which are monitored by the IACA. The new arrangement will also facilitate regular entry and exit of IAEA personnel. Prior to Modi's proposed visit to Washington, USA, in September, 2014, his government was to fulfill India's commitment anchored in the Indo-US Joint statement of July, 2005. The safeguards agreement with IAEA covers 20 nuclear facilities in India including Kudankulam Units 1 and When the US Secretary of State, John Kerry visited India (July 31, 2014) External Affairs Minister, Sushma Swaraj, raised the issue of 'snooping' by the National Security Agency (NSA) and voiced the concern of the country. However, the visiting dignitary is reported to have remarked that "we do not discuss intelligence matters in public"!'

14.13.2. Indo-Russia Relations

Prime Minister Narendra Modi met the Russian President Vladimir Putin on the side lines of the 6th Brazil Summit in Forkaleza, Brazil, on 15 July 2014, and discussed major bilateral issues concerning strategic matters, defence co-operations and economic ties. Modi invited Putin to visit India.

14.13.3. Indo-UK Relations

United States and United Kingdom rank among the most important countries outside of India's neighbors. After a decade of diplomatic boycott of chief minister Modi, James Cameron, the then British prime minister, lifted the boycott and re-established a formal contact with the Indian Prime Minister.

14.13.4. Indo-Pakistan Relations

In the unprecedented one-to-one meeting between Prime Minister Narendra Modi and his Pakistan Counterpart Nawaz Sharif during the swearing-in ceremony (May 2014), the former was satisfied to have stressed India's

concern on terrorism, skirmishes on the Line of Control (LoC) and slow progress in the trial of 26/11 perpetrators.

During his visit to Jammu and Kashmir, Modi slammed Pakistan for engaging in a "proxy war of terrorism" (12 Aug). Pakistan retaliated that Modi's remarks were 'unfortunate' and a 'baseless rhetoric against Pakistan'. The sensible course would be to engage our problematic neighbour in diplomatic talks. Provocative rhetoric will only go against normalisation of Indo-Pakistan relations.

14.13.5. Indo-Bangladesh Relations

After the election of Awami League Reader Sheikh Hasina as Prime Minister in 2009, the bilateral relationship between India and Bangladesh became normal, cordial and friendly. However, the Land Border Agreement of 1974 could not be ratified by the UPA Government in Parliament. Despite negative election campaign against Bangladesh by Modi, the New NDA government has to deal with the Land Border Agreement, the Teesta River-Sharing Settlement, the pestering problem of illegal immigration, Dhaka-New Delhi relations, areas of security, sub-regional development, opening of Indian markets to Bangladesh goods, energy requirements, people-to-people exchanges are some of the problems to be handled by Modi. Dhaka's co-operation will be crucial and critical to the success of India's Look East Policy.'

14.13.6. India-China Relations

India's then Vice-President Hamid Ansari visited China in June 2014 to preside over the 60th anniversary of the signing of the Panchsheel, or five principles of co-existence. Ansari reiterated India's commitment to Panchsheel, which is the basis of "a federation of friendly, interdependant nations". China's Prime Minister XI Jinping asserted that China would follow the Five Principles of Panchsheel, underscoring its relevance even today.

Industry Ministry signed a landmark agreement to set up at least 4 Chinese Industrial Parks in India. China invited India to participate in the Asia Infrastructure Investment Bank (AIIB) to steer economic development along the ancient 'silk route', free from the influence of Western backed World Bank and Asian Development Bank. If India opens its doors to Chinese investments India could get into Shanghai Co-operation Organisation and will have access to infrastructure funding.

China has also agreed to extend the provision of hydrological data from May 15 to December 15 every year on a daily basis, ending a two-year suspension on new projects. The Memorandum of Understanding builds upon an agreement to co-operate on Trans-boundary rivers signed in 2013. Training exchange programme for officials of both countries, between the Lal Bahadur Shastri National Academy of Administration, Mussoria and the China executive leadership academy in Shanghai, were finalized.

14.13.7. Terrorism

The new millennium witnessed terrorists creating tension not only in India but also across the world. The 9/11 incident created a global alliance against terrorism. India had been worst affected by the terrorist activities, particularly parliament attack in 2001, Delhi Bomb Blast in 2005, Attack on Indian Institute of Science, Varanasi Blasts, Mumbai bomb blasts and Hyderabad bomb blast. Government of India took serious steps against the terrorism. From time to time laws have been passed to crack down terrorist activities. Vajpayee, Manmohan Singh and Modi all strongly condemned the different forms of the terrorism and reiterated zero tolerance towards it, striving for a global alliance against terrorism with help of international leaders. Still, it is a serious threat to the security and stability of the nation. Terrorism has many faces in the name of religion, regionalism, caste etc. and is undoubtedly the biggest challenge to the world as well as India. Hence, there should be no space for terrorism in a civilized state.

14.14. CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

Economic Performance

India has overcome economic stagnation and broken the vicious circle of poverty-underdevelopment-poverty. It has also broken from the colonial economic structure and has been successful in laying the foundations of a self-reliant, independent economy. It has thus fulfilled the design of the founders of the Republic, to go from political independence to economic independence.

India has not been autarchic or self-sufficient or based on national seclusion, living within its own cocoon. It could only develop as an integral part of the world economy. But independent India's integration with the world economy has been different from that of the colonial period; it is based on the needs of India's autonomous development and free of subordination to the economies of the advanced capitalist countries of Western Europe and North America. Nor has foreign capital any longer a stranglehold on Indian economy. In fact, dependence of independent India on foreign capital and foreign aid has been quite low. Today, neither finance nor any major or economically strategic industry is under the control of foreign capital. Multinational corporations have played a relatively minor role in the Indian economy. However, for advanced technology, India still continues to be dependent on some industrialized countries. Immediately after independence, India successfully developed an economic pattern of its own – namely, a mixed economy, which placed equal emphasis on the active economic role of the state and the market – and developed a complementary relationship between the public and the private sectors. Since 1991, India has also been able to carry through economic reforms, dismantling bureaucratic controls and the licence quota raj and developing a closer integration with the world economy, through a gradual process, without hurting the economy or the people's living standards.

All the same the economic problems that India is yet to solve are enormous. It is likely to face major new challenges in the next few years. India

is still a poor and backward country by world standards, and the economic gap vis-a-vis the advanced capitalist countries has widened instead of narrowing. This is especially true of the technological gap between the two. Despite the long strides Indian economy has taken, it still does not manage to fully satisfy the basic needs of its entire people, what to speak of their aspirations, in part because of the skewed income distribution.

Wide prevalence of poverty, inequality and social injustice and the poor quality of life of the vast majority of the people are the major areas of darkness in India's social and economic development. The Indian people enter the twenty-first century with a low per capita income, an intolerable level of illiteracy and a lowly position on the world index of human resource development, despite commendable achievements in terms of economic growth and political democracy. A change in the social and economic condition of the people has occurred since independence but at too slow a rate.

The quality of life of the masses in India is another major area of neglect as their physical and social needs have not been met even to a minimally desired level. Some progress has been made in this respect but it has been tardy and inadequate. India has been quite weak in the all-round transformation of human conditions. Its record is quite dismal when compared even with that of the other developing countries. In the latest index of human development, another name for the measurable parts of the quality of life, compiled by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 2004, India occupies the 126th position among the 177 nations covered.

No doubt we still have 'promises to keep and miles to go'. We still face the challenges of poverty, disease, illiteracy, inequality, social backwardness, and gender and caste discrimination and oppression. Many of our current problems are the outcome of the tremendous changes we have undergone and not because of regression or stagnation. Despite many shortcomings, India has impressive achievements to its credit in the economic and political arenas. It has made significant progress towards social justice. As a result of economic development and transformation of the agricultural and industrial production base of society during the last half century, India has now the resources to further its social agenda. The earlier debate whether a poor society could pursue social justice is no longer relevant. There is no longer any need to counterpoise increase in production and productivity to the removal of poverty and better distribution of wealth and opportunities. Nehru's dilemma about how to combine development with equity has also disappeared, for we can now achieve this. It would, therefore, not be wrong to expect and to predict that in the next decade or so India is likely to make immense progress, to almost take a leap forward, in transforming the lives of the mass of the people and give them a decent standard of living.

14.15. ANSWERS TO CHECK YOUR PROGRESS QUESTIONS

1. The 2004 tsunami struck and ravaged Andaman and Nicobar Islands and caused havoc to the coastal states of Tamil Nadu, Kerala, Andhra Pradesh and Pondicherry.
2. The Nanavati Commission was appointed by the UPA Government in 2000. The Commission inquired into the 1984 anti-Sikh riots following

the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi by her Sikh body guards.
3. The Union Water Resources Ministry set up the Technical Experts Committee to study the strength of the Mullai Periyar Dam.
4. The National Rural Health Mission was launched in April 2005.
5. In February 2006, the National Commission for Women launched an ambitious programme for empowering women in villages. The campaign was called *'Chalo Gaon Ki Ore'*.
6. Chandrayaan is the India's first lunar mission to moon.
7. Russia provided two 1000MW reactors for the Kudankulam nuclear plant.
8. George Bush was the President of USA when civil nuclear deal was concluded between India and USA.
9. The 2013 National Food Security Act was passed on 12 September.
10. Telungana became a separate state on 1 June 2014.
11. GST was implemented on 1 July 2017.

14.16. SUMMARY

- Manmohan Singh became the 13th Prime Minister of India, 2004–2014.
- Right to Information Act was considered as a landmark act to maintain transparency in government activities.
- Prevention of Domestic Violence Act was another important act aimed to prevent the women from domestic violence.
- Manmohan Singh introduced several reforms towards economically backward people such as the National Rural Health Mission, Employment Guarantee Scheme and National Food Security Act.
- Right to Education was another important act aiming to eradicate illiteracy.
- His foreign policy was highly significant particularly towards USA and Soviet Union.
- Civil nuclear deal was concluded with USA and collaboration in Space research was also achieved.
- Narendra Modi came to power in 2014.
- Soon after he assumed office Modi took steps to bring back the black money; in particular his government appointed a Special Investigation Team (SIT) under Justice M.B. Shah.
- Demonetization is considered as another important step against black money and terrorism.
- Like Manmohan Singh, Modi maintains a cordial relationship with USA and Soviet Union.
- His efforts to establish good relationship with SAARC countries is seen to be significant; however, relations with Pakistan due to cross-border terrorism was not good.
- The second term of the NDA government maintains cordial relationship with China through formal and non-formal summit.

14.17. KEY WORDS

Tsunami: *Tsunami* is a Japanese word, meaning harbor wave: "tsu" means harbor, "nami" means "wave. In 2004 Tsunami hit the coastal areas of South India.

Demonetization: It means the withdrawal of a coin/note from use as legal tender. On 8 November 2016, the Government of India announced the demonetization of all INR.500 and INR.1,000 banknotes of the Mahatma Gandhi Series. It also announced the issuance of new INR.500 and INR.2,000 banknotes in exchange for the demonetised banknotes.

Bharat Nirman: Bharat Nirman is an Indian business plan for creating and augmenting basic rural infrastructure. It comprises projects on irrigation, roads, housing, water supply, electrification and telecommunication connectivity.

National Food security Act: The National Food Security Act, 2013 (also called the Right to Food Act) is an Act of the Parliament of India which aims to provide subsidized food grains to approximately two-thirds of India's 1.2 billion people.

Right to Education: The Right of Children to Free and Compulsory Education Act, or Right to Education Act (RTE), is an Act of the Parliament of India enacted on 4 August 2009, which describes the modalities of the importance of free and compulsory education for children between the age of 6 to 14 years under Article 21A of the Indian Constitution

Operation Duryodhana: A Cobrapost-Aaj Tak investigation code-named Operation Duryodhana revealed 11 members of the Parliament accepting cash for asking questions in the Indian Parliament. Spread over eight months, Operation Duryodhana logged more than 56 video and 70 audiotapes besides recording more than 900 phone calls.

'Operation Chakravyuh': Operation Chakravyuh, carried out by the Detective Intelligence Group, showed six MPs soliciting commissions while allotting funds under the MPLADS for developmental works in their respective constituencies.

GST: Goods and Services Tax (GST) is an indirect tax (or consumption tax) imposed in India on 1 July 2017. It is a comprehensive multistage, destination-based tax: comprehensive because it has subsumed almost all the indirect taxes except few.

14.18. SELF ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

Short Answer Questions

1. Write a short on interlinking of the rivers.
2. Give an account on the Employment Guarantee Scheme?
3. Discuss the Prevention of Domestic Violence Act.
4. Write a note on Indo-Sri Lanka relationship during the Manmohan Singh?

5. Give an account on steps taken by the NDA government to identify black money.
6. Estimate Indo-Pak relations during Modi rule?

Long Answer Questions

1. Critically analyze the salient features of the Right to Information Act.
2. Estimate the Indo-USA relationship during the Manmohan Singh period.
3. Write an essay on the internal policy of Narendra Modi?
4. Critically analyze India's relationship with neighboring states during the Modi period.
5. Identify the challenges in contemporary India.

14.19. FURTHER READINGS

Bipan Chandra, Miridula Mukherjee, Aditya Mukherjee. 2008. *India since Independence,* Haryana: Penguin Books.

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S.K. Shah. 2017. *India's Foreign Policy,* Alpha Editions.

V.N. Khanna, Leslie K Kumar. 2018. *Foreign Policy of India.* New Delhi: Vikas Publications PVT. LTD.

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Model Question Paper
M.A. (History)
Contemporary India Since 1947 A.D.

Total: 75 Marks

Section – A 10x2=20

1. Mountbatten Plan
2. Operation Polo
3. JVP committee
4. Panchasheel Principles
5. Tashkent Agreement
6. Navaratna Industries
7. National Emergency 1975
8. Operation Black Board
9. Lahore Bus Journey
10. Demonization

Section – B 5x5=25

11. a. Discuss the role of Patel in integration of Indian Princely States.
    b. Explain the fundamental Rights.
12. a. Trace the Non-Alignment Movement.
    b. Discuss the Indo-Soviet relationship during the time of Mrs. Gandhi.
13. a. Explain the Planning Commission and Five Year Plan.
    b. Enumerate Horticulture Development in Contemporary India.
14. a. Examine the import and export to promote economy in contemporary India.
    b. Discuss salient features of New Education Policy.
15. a. Explain Operation Blue Star.
    b. Enumerate the Mandal Commission recommendations and its impact in Indian Politics.

Section –C 3x10=30

16. Critically analyse Nehru as Architect of Modern India.
17. Write an essay on second Indo-Pak War (1971) and its impact.
18. Explain New Economic Policy.
19. Estimate Foreign Policy of Vajpayee.
20. Describe internal policy of Manmohan Singh.